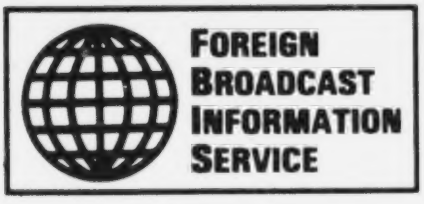

Daily Report

East Europe

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East Europe

FBIS-EEU-93-238 *14 December 1993*

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Meksi on Czech Minister's Visit, Current Issues

AU1312170693 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 6 Dec 93 pp 1,8

[Interview with Prime Minister Aleksander Meksi by Jan Tobias and Jan Pergler in Tirana; date not given: "Albania Does Not Want To Become Greater Albania"]

[Text] Aleksander Meksi is the first freely elected Albanian prime minister after 40 years of communist rule. It is rumored among the people that he is the only member of the cabinet who does not abuse his position to enrich himself. While visiting Albania as part of the LIDOVE NOVINY Epicentrum team, we asked him for a brief interview during the Democratic Party's congress.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Mr. Prime Minister, Czech Trade and Industry Minister Vladimir Dlouhy will visit Albania this week. What do you expect from his visit?

[Meksi] Naturally, we hope to boost our ties of friendship. First and foremost, political ties closely followed by economic ties, although these are perhaps the most important ones for Albania at the moment.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Minister Dlouhy will be accompanied by several Czech businessmen. What will the Albanian side propose to them?

[Meksi] The strength of the Albanian economy lies, first and foremost, in the ground. I mean, mainly in chromium, which has always been mined here. We are also trying to revive the tourism industry, which flourished here 30 years ago. We can offer the Czech Republic our agricultural products. We can import plenty of things from you. I hope that our traditionally good commercial relations will assume a new quality, since much has changed in the Czech Republic and in Albania during the past four years.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] It is known that production in Albania's nickel and chromium mines is in deep crisis. Will you ask the Czech Republic for help in reviving production?

[Meksi] First, we have to ascertain whether your country is in the position to offer such help; but, in any case, we will discuss this with Minister Dlouhy.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] According to IMF figures, inflation in Albania hovers around 15 percent per annum, which means that, among the post-communist countries, it is in second place—after the Czech Republic. In view of the high unemployment (according to some figures, it is almost 40 percent—Editor) level, this seems to be a minor miracle. How did you achieve this?

[Meksi] By a restrictive financial policy and maximum price liberalization. Unemployment is not so bad as some sources make out. According to our estimates, it is 18 percent. The figures mostly include Albanians who work abroad, for example, in Greece.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The Albanian Government is currently dealing with two different ethnic minority issues: With the Kosovo Albanians and the Albanian Greeks (according to Greek sources, 400,000 Greeks live in Albania; the Albanian authorities give the figure as 60,000).

[Meksi] From our point of view, the only issue we consider to be fundamental is that of the Albanians living in Kosovo. There are more than 3 million of them, which is the same number as in Albania itself. We do not consider the issue of Albanian Greeks to be a problem.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Is it true that you want to create a so-called Greater Albania?

[Meksi] No. We are merely trying to establish an Albania on Albanian territory with Albanian people. We are resolved to provide the Kosovo Albanians with all the rights they are entitled to so they can extricate themselves from persecution by the Serbian Army and the Serbian police. Therefore, we are demanding that UN peace-forming units or, as the case may be, NATO forces be dispatched to this region. At the same time, we want to maintain good relations with Kosovo.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Albania—like the other post-communist countries—is preparing to privatize nationalized property, allegedly by means of the Czech coupon method. Is this true?

[Meksi] We want to make use of the experiences of Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, but not until we ascertain which method will best suit our conditions.

Czech Minister Proposes Debt Elimination Methods

AU1412075393 Prague CTK in English 1913 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Tirana, Dec 13 (CTK)— In a meeting with Albanian representatives during his present visit, Czech Industry and Trade Minister Vladimir Dlouhy proposed to discuss less common ways of eliminating Albania's debts to the Czech Republic.

Dlouhy's spokesman Lubos Beniak told CTK that one of these ways could be, for example, the recapitalization of Albania's debt in the tourist industry which has a promising future in the country with mountains and beaches so far untouched by tourism.

Albania promised to pay its debt worth over $15 million in an agreement of January 1992 but the present performance of its economy does not offer much hope of payment, Beniak said.

In the first ten months of this year Czech exports to Albania amounted to $3,467 million, while Czech imports from there were worth only $45,000. There is enormous interest in Czech products on the Albanian market, but the debt payment remains a problem, Beniak said.

Scope is being offered to Czech business leaders also by the fact that many Czech locomotives and trucks are still in use in Albania and need at least spare parts, if not

replacement. The same can be said of power plants and the rest of the infrastructure.

"We are slowly beginning to hit the ceiling of our exporting possibilities to advanced markets," Dlouhy told CTK, and added that this was why the Industry and Trade Ministry had to open doors to other markets for Czech businessmen.

PD Leader on 'Withdrawal' of Former Minister

AU1412073993 Tirana RILINDJA DEMOKRATIKE in Albanian 8 Dec 93 p 1

["Statement by Mr. Ali Spahia to the People's Assembly Over P. Kalakula and A. Baleta's Withdrawal from the Democratic Party Parliamentary Group," delivered to the People's Assembly in Tirana on 7 December]

[Text] Considering recent developments, Mr. Kalakula's statement is not unexpected.

Speaking on behalf of Deputy Baleta too, Mr. Kalakula has attempted to seize the banner of the struggle against communism and of the struggle for freedom and democracy. However, I would remind these gentlemen of only one thing: Before the 22 March [1992] elections, both were commited to struggling to implement the Democratic Party [PD] program. Their disagreements today are not with the PD Presidium, the party itself, or even its parliamentary group. They are disagreements arising from their rejection of and dissociation from the PD program. It is very sad to see how far thirst for a career will drive a man. Mr. Kalakula accepted the post of minister in order to implement the PD's program on land distribution and then immediately set himself against the practical implementation of this program. However, he was obliged to choose between his ministerial armchair and the implementation of the PD program on the one hand and, on the other hand, a settlement entirely outside this program. He still chose his armchair, promising that he would work for the implementation of the PD program on land distribution. Nevertheless, I regret to say that he preferred to abandon the PD program and the interests of Albania for the sake of his family's two hectares.

The PD gave Mr. Kalakula the opportunity to come and express his views freely like everybody else at the Second National Assembly. However, Mr. Kalakula, like a dishonest careerist, instead chose huggermugger methods through statements and interviews in assorted newspapers. But this is Mr. Kalakula's affair. I would also say that what is Mr. iKalakula's affair is also Mr. Baleta's. They have accounts to settle with their consciences and their characters, but cannot come clean because they signed a statement promising to openly defend the PD program in the parliament. Now they want to use the mandates which the PD gave them and which the electorate gave them for the sake of the PD's program, for their own purposes and for an entirely different political line in the parliament. This is again a matter for their own consciences and characters.

The PD has clearly stated in its program that it is commited to a struggle against communism, to uprooting communism, to creating an entirely open Albania, and to giving the Albanian people basic human rights and freedoms. The PD has fully achieved all these items in its program, often in the teeth of the views of Mr. Kalakula and Mr. Baleta, as expressed by both these gentlemen in the parliamentary group, and by Mr. Kalakula in the ranks of the PD.

We have been candid and loyal. We will continue to be candid.

We have dissociated ourselves from left-wing extremism. We have also dissociated ourselves from right-wing extremism, from calls in favor of fascism, and from calls in favor of those who want blood and are ready to turn Albania into an arena for civil war for the sake of an inch of private property. We are in favor of and will work unstintingly for a guarantee of basic human freedoms, democracy, and the creation of a democratic Albania entirely open to everybody, while avoiding the extremist views of Mr. Kalakula and Mr. Baleta, as well as other extremist views of the left whenever and however they may appear. Thank you.

Trial of Former Politburo Members Opens

AU1012220093 Tirana TVSH Television Network in Albanian 1900 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] The trial of the defendants Pali Miska, Lenka Cuko, Muho Asllani, Qirjako Mihali, Hajredin Celiku, Vangjel Cerrava, Besnik Bekteshi, Prokop Murra, Foto Cami, and Llambi Gegprifti opened in Tirana today. This trial is being conducted by Artan Zeneli, chairman of the judicial body, Mamica Gjingjoni, and Gjergj Pojani.

The defendants are charged with violating the equality of citizens by creating privileges in collaboration with one another. Prosecutor Gene Gjokutaj added a civil lawsuit to the charge, which aims to have the defendants return to the state the amounts unjustly profited during their work in party and state posts. The judicial body accepted the prosecutor's request. The embezzled amount varies from 8 to 10 million new leks for each defendant.

According to the indictment, the defendants have violated Article 40 of the 1976 Constitution, which declared the equality of citizens. By occupying leading posts of the Party of Labor and the Albanian state, the defendants created privileges for themselves and their families, including buying recreational items with foreign currency abroad or by taking gold without any payment to repair their teeth.

The 10 defendants did not agree with the charge and the civil lawsuit. The trial continued with questions posed to the defendants, which, at the decision of the judicial body, cannot be made public as long as the final verdict is not announced.

Mining Strike Situation Updated

AU1412081393 Sofia BTA in English 2102 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The miners of the Miners' Federation with the Podkrepa Trade Union started effective strike this morning. They demand that the cabinet guarantees the future of this sector, get the structural adjustment there started and provide alternative employment for the workers, the leaders of the National Strike Committee told a briefing today. The cabinet has not yet reacted to the proposal of the Podkrepa Miners' Federation for setting up a state mining agency to take over the management and the future development of ore, coal and uranium mining. A total of 15,264 miners have joined the strike, according to the strike leaders. Members of the Confederation of the Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria (KNSB), the other influential trade union in this country, are also reported to have gone on strike throughout the country. Twelve of the 14 regions involved in this sector are on strike, according to Dimitur Dimov, leader of the Podkrepa Miners' Federation. The strike actions will be called off only if a general agreement with the cabinet is reached and parliament guarantees for it, Podkrepa's leader Konstantin Trenchev said. Otherwise the cabinet should admit its complete inefficiency and resign, according to Dr. Trenchev.

Physicians of the Podkrepa-affiliated Medical Federation went on strike in a number of hospitals in Sofia and throughout the country. They are staging their protests with 1 to 2 hour token work stoppages, sign-ins and meetings. A ban of the deputy head physician stopped the staff of the Pirogov Emergency Hospital in Sofia from joining their colleagues.

Yesterday the National Strike Committee of the KNSB-affiliated Miners' Federation took a decision to call off the effective strike actions of federation-member miners who started their protests in early December. A meeting between the federation leaders and the Strike Committee held yesterday reached a common understanding on the agreement with the government of December 10 for solving the problems in ore-mining, Federation chairman Traycho Tsolov told journalists. Speaking at a meeting of miners and their families, Deputy Prime Minister Evgeni Matinchev guaranteed the implementation of the agreement signed between the two parties, BTA learned from the local correspondent. Today the cabinet approved the extending of 113 million leva from extra-budgetary funds as temporary financial assistance to the miners and adopted a scheme for their distribution. Back from a tour around the country, KNSB's leader Krustyu Petkov said the miners have returned to the mines to decide whether the agreement with the cainet meets their demands. Some of them will be back to work until December 16, Prof. Petkov said. A failure to extend the negotiated funds by then will be followed by local civil disobedience, and not by trade union strike, the KNSB leader said.

Industry Minister Bikov Answers Accusations

AU1412080993 Sofia 168 CHASA in Bulgarian No. 49, 6 Dec 93 pp 25, 34

[Interview with Industry Minister Rumen Bikov by Vanya Shekerova; place and date not given: "There Is No Strike; I Am Not an Agent for Koch Holding, and Karabashev Is My Friend"]

[Excerpts] [Shekerova] Mr. Bikov, the trade unions have called you a liar. How will you prove the opposite, now that the miners strike has started?

[Bikov] The claim by KNSB [Confederation of Independent Trade Unions in Bulgaria] representatives that I am a liar is based on a report published on the basis of information supplied by the government spokesman. For almost the whole of this week, we have been examining the specific figures on various unpaid wages in the ore-mining sector. At a closed cabinet meeting I spoke only about the GORUBSO [Bulgarian Soviet Ore Mining Company] mining complex, yet the press reported that I had discussed the entire sector. There are three mining associations that have problems in paying their wages for last September. All the others have received their pay. In my view, there is no strike. The unions are announcing figures, but so far we have not received a single official report of mass strike action from any of the companies and associations.

After my talks with the trade union federations I was left with the impression that they have no intention of calling a strike, but rather the reverse. I believe the unions will lose a lot if they encourage their members to undertake protest actions aimed at removing the cabinet. [passage omitted]

[Shekerova] Do you have the feeling that your ministry should be split up? One hears suggestions that it is crazy to subordinate the whole of industry to a single body, and that this is the fundamental reason for many of the problems.

[Bikov] There is some truth in the assertion that some activities that at present are controlled and subsidized by the state could be transferred to other existing government departments, such as our energy resources, Bulgargaz, and so forth. However, it would be a mistake in my view to close down any departments.

The proposals to create a ministry of privatization is in my view simply an attempt to administer the privatization process. The problem is that at the moment supply is much greater than demand in the privatization market. The question is not how to administer privatization, but how to attract buyers, investors, and people who want to take part in the process. We must look for different privatization techniques. Things are mainly moving toward the auction or competition method, something like: You give me your money, and I will give you the enterprise. This is wrong, as experience has shown in other former socialist countries. We should

employ techniques like signing management agreements in return for collateral, with payment spread over seven or eight years, and I would also mention foreign investors. We should offer the existing managements of enterprises management contracts with a clause permitting subsequent purchase. We have asked about 80 managements of firms if they want to participate in privatization on such terms. [passage omitted]

[Shekerova] Do you know the precise nature of the charges leveled against you by National Assembly Deputy Gincho Pavlov of the Fatherland Labor Party [OPT]?

[Bikov] Unfortunately, I only know what is written in the newspapers, nothing more. So far no one has put any question to me officially. A deputy cannot permit himself to declare to all the Bulgarian people that suspicions of corruption exist regarding a minister, without providing evidence for these suspicions. This casts a stain not only on the minister himself, but also on the entire ministry and on the authority of the cabinet, by saying things like "I have suspicions that...." I regard this as a sign of pure evil intention. I have written to the OPT, addressing my letter to Chairman Popov personally, to express my disgust with Pavlov's behavior. [passage omitted]

[Shekerova] It has been announced that you hold an agency for Koch Holdings, the Turkish tobacco company. Why do you make trips to Turkey, almost like a secret service agent?

[Bikov] I am not acquainted with a single representative of Koch Holdings. If anyone from Koch Holdings knows me and says I have talked to him, he should contact me. I have never made any secret trips to Turkey. Recently I had a two-day meeting with representatives of the Turkish Chamber of Industry in Istanbul, which included an official news conference that was reported in the Istanbul newspapers. The Bulgarian ambassador and consul general in Istanbul also attended. This is part of our policy of seeking contacts, attracting foreign capital to Bulgaria, and arousing interest in our country.

[Shekerova] You are reported to have said that you have transferred your trust to Margarit Mitsev and that this helped to spoil your relations with Valentin Karabashev.

[Bikov] The fact that Margarit Mitsev's sister works in the Ministry of Industry has prompted certain people to make allusions and draw analogies that I cannot understand. I have nothing whatsoever to do with Deputy Margarit Mitsev, nor have I had any connection with the issue of the director of INKO. I learned that the director had been replaced when Karabashev submitted the file with the INKO auditors' report to parliament. As far as my relations with Karabashev are concerned, I say again that we are first and foremost good friends.

[Shekerova] What could make you resign?

[Bikov] I will resign when parliament has lost confidence in me, or if one fine day my patience is finally exhausted.

Cabinet Adopts Agreements, Economic Measures

AU1412081193 Sofia BTA in English 2048 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—The Council of Ministers today approved a draft agreement on the avoidance of double taxation between Bulgaria and Argentina and authorized Finance Minister Stoyan Aleksandrov to negotiate its signing.

The cabinet approved an agreement between the Governments of Bulgaria and Albania on investment promotion and reciprocal protection. The ministers also approved a draft agreement between the Governments of Bulgaria and Slovakia on cooperation in health care and a Bulgarian-Egyptian draft agreement on cooperation in science, culture and education until 1997.

The cabinet approved a memorandum of understanding with the mission of the European Union and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe on the application of sanctions against Serbia and Montenegro. The memorandum is expected to be signed shortly.

In connection with the forthcoming visit by Russia's Minister of External Economic Relations Oleg Davydov, who is expected here on December 15, the government approved a draft protocol on trade and payments between Bulgaria and Russia in 1994. A protocol is also to be signed on the implementation of the 1986 agreement on cooperation in the development of the Yamburg natural gas deposit, the construction of a gas conduit between Yamburg and the Western border of the ex-USSR and the related gas deliveries to Bulgaria.

The government gave its consent to the construction of a new building of a Bulgarian Consulate General in Thessaloniki and to the purchase of real estate in Seoul for the needs of this country's diplomatic mission.

The Council of Ministers set ceiling prices of liquid fuels in force between December 1 to 30. The prices of the different types of petrol are between 1.60 a [word indistinct] and 2.20 leva/l lower than before, diesel fuel will be 1.20 leva cheaper, and gas oil 0.33 leva cheaper.

The government today approved a rate schedule of fees collected by the Committee for Peaceful Uses of Atomic Energy. The draft decree has been introduced by the committee's chairman Yanko Yanev and provides for the collection of fees on all activities related to peaceful atoms. The new rate schedule is intended to raise extra funds for work on nuclear and radiological safety. Fees are set for the selection of a building site for the construction of a nuclear power plant, for the construction of a plant, for commissioning and operation of a N-plant. A license for the import or export of nuclear material will cost 45,000 leva, and 9,000 leva will be charged for transporting nuclear material.

Agency Chief Backs Berov's 'Mass Privatization'

AU1412080893 Sofia BTA in English 1454 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—"Nobody in Bulgaria wants privatization," Mrs. Reneta Indzhova told a news conference today, her first since she was appointed to replace Aleksandur Bozhkov as executive director of the Privatization Agency two months ago. The Privatization Agency started functioning as a specialized authority for the denationalization of state property in 1992. Since then, it has closed five or six privatization transactions, one of which proved invalid and the rest have yet to become effective because payment is not yet due.

Asked by BTA what stands in the way of privatization, Mrs. Indzhova said there were no unhelpable obstacles. In her view, the Privatization Act, which was passed in May 1992, gives the agency enough room to operate. The main obstacle is in the mass mind, which resists not that much privatization itself as its results. For their part, the political forces do not know what they want, and there is also a fierce clash of vested interests. Listing the difficulties into which this process is running, Mrs. Indzhova mentioned the numerous institutions authorized under the Law to privatize property: The local councils, the ministries, some committees and the agency. She thinks all those authorities stand in each other's way and discredit efforts in this direction. Another problem is the misguided, as Mrs. Indzhova sees it, transparency in the work of the agency. She invoked the right of contracting parties to withhold information on a deal prior to its conclusion and declined to disclose the transactions which the agency is arranging.

The privatization agency is planning to terminate the consulting contracts with foreign firms on some initiated procedures, Mrs. Indzhova said but declined to elaborate. In her view, a foreign consultant is a third party to a transaction and does not always act in good faith. This country already has a sufficient number of licensed appraisers, even more than it needs, Mrs. Indzhova believes.

Mrs. Indzhova declared herself in defense of the mass privatization scheme which the government of Prof. Lyuben Berov introduced before the National Assembly more than half a year ago. In her view, restitution in Bulgaria used the most conservative option for restoration of old economic structures, and the numerous owners will help redress the economic balance.

Defense Minister Comments on Military Issues

AU1412080693 Sofia BTA in English 1334 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Sofia, December 13 (BTA)—Bulgaria's Defense Minister Valentin Aleksandrov replied affirmatively to a 24 CHASA question if Bulgaria could feel safe in the Balkans. I rule out a military aggression by Turkey, we feel safe with Greece and Romania, and the Serbs are too preoccupied with other matters to think about Bulgaria, says the defense minister in the interview published today.

I also count on framework military accords the Defense Ministry has signed with almost all neighbours, they do not have the power of treaties but guarantee friendly relations and stability, the defense minister adds.

Asked about the ministry's priorities given the current shortage of funds, Mr. Aleksandrov notes: "We will persist in our attempts to stabilize the military intelligence. We are poor but we should not be blind." He adds both the air force and the land forces will get financial aid. "We should not forget that Bulgaria is still in a dangerous strategic vacuum, that our Western border with Serbia is more or less covered, while we have absolutely nothing along the northeastern border with Romania," the defense minister specifies.

The 13,000 million leva allocated to the Army in the 1994 draft budget will not do, says Mr. Aleksandrov. He believes the Army should undergo painful but much-needed changes, as "it is pointless to administer injections unless the organism itself tries to cope." The defense minister does not say definitely whether he will make personnel cuts.

He notes that negotiations are under way on several projects for repairing foreign hardware in plants subordinated to the Defense Ministry. If we contract the deals the Defense Ministry will resolve the social problems of 100,000 people and will set up an Army modernization fund, Mr. Aleksandrov says. The first project concerns the repair of Syrian military hardware and negotiations are making good progress. The second project, qualified as more serious by the defense concerns the repair of old African MiG fighters, offered by Israel. The deal may bring Bulgaria nearly 3,000 million dollars and the plants in Plovdiv and Karlovo (southern Bulgaria) could function round-the-clock for five years, but the issue has been unnecessarily politicized lately. The Defense Ministry has also won a tender for the delivery of military hardware to India.

A special inspection department directly subordinated to the minister has been established to combat corruption in the Army, Defense Minister Aleksandrov says in his interview in 24 CHASA.

Dissident SDS Deputies Said Forming New Group

AU1312141093 Sofia KONTINENT in Bulgarian 6 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Sonya Angelova]

[Excerpt] Sofia, 5 December—Informed sources have announced that active negotiations are under way to form a new parliamentary group. The new group is expected to include Ventseslav Dimitrov, Verzhiniya Velcheva, and other SDS [Union of Democratic Forces]

deputies who do not like the line followed by Filip Dimitrov. Nikolay Slatinski, who is expected to be expelled from the SDS coalition this week, may also join the new group. They will manage to steal one or two people from the SDS, but they will not split the coalition, [SDS Deputy] Edvin Sugarev commented. The fourth parliamentary group may be led by Georgi Markov, because of his links with the DPS [Movement for Rights and Freedoms] and his popularity among SDS voters. Ivan Pushkarov is also expected to join the group's leadership.

Sources in 134 Rakovski Street [SDS headquarters] claim that demands have been coming from Europe—even more strongly than those made by [U.S. Ambassador] Montgomery—for the SDS to make up with Ahmed Dogan [DPS leader]. Those loyal to Filip Dimitrov have allegedly discovered that this is one of the conditions for financing the SDS coalition. It is not excluded that the new group may emerge following a scandal. According to reports, Georgi Markov has already asked to discuss "delicate matters," and only the absence of Stefan Savov stopped him. One of these issues is the question of whether the SDS gave up power following advice given by Konstantin Mishev. Mishev allegedly advised the prime minister [Filip Dimitrov] to seek a vote of confidence, "so as not to bear responsibility for the winter." This allegedly deprived the SDS of the historic opportunity to sign the association agreement with the European Community. [passage omitted]

United Communist Party Founded at Congress

AU1312082493 Sofia BTA in English 1858 GMT 12 Dec 93

["Today"—BTA lead]

[Excerpt] Sofia, December 12 (BTA)—[passage omitted] A Bulgarian United Communist Party was constituted at the Unification Congress of Communists in Bulgaria, which met in Gorna Oryakhovitsa (north central Bulgaria) over the weekend, the local BTA correspondent reported. The forum ended today with the election of governing bodies of the new party. The party programme will be worked out in the coming months. The symbol of the Bulgarian United Communist Party will be a red flag with a five-pointed star, and its publication will be called NOVO RABOTNICHESKO DELO, the report says. In a declaration received at BTA, the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party (first secretary: Vladimir Spasov) rejects allegations that representatives of that party attended the unification congress. A total of six formations were represented at the forum, BTA reported yesterday. [passage omitted]

Municipalities Complain About Underfunding

AU1312171493 Sofia DEMOKRATSIYA in Bulgarian 7 Dec 93 pp 1, 3

["Declaration by Association of Democratic Municipalities"]

[Text] At the end of the current financial year, while waiting for the draft 1994 budget to be submitted to the National Assembly, the Association of Democratic Municipalities, filled with alarm concerning the state of the country's population, feels bound to state the following:

The serious crisis facing the municipalities in the Republic of Bulgaria is caused by a series of actions by the government that led to the frustration of all the calculations and efforts made by the municipalities to ensure the normal functioning of their organs and to guarantee communal and social services to the population. The chronology of these actions was as follows:

1. The considerable delay in submitting the draft budget for 1993 slowed down the work of the municipal administrations and brought them face to face with the necessity of urgently seeking a solution to the financial difficulties arising from this delay.

2. The 1993 budget submitted by the government and adopted by the National Assembly only in June totally ignored the estimates of necessary expenditures submitted by the municipalities, with arguments to back them up, and in a mechanical and bureaucratic manner reduced the state subsidy granted to the local budgets by an average of 40 percent.

3. In the middle of 1993, on the government's suggestion, the National Assembly changed the ratio for distributing the receipts from general income tax, reducing the municipalities' share by 20 percentage points. In this way the municipalities lost considerable funds from their primary source of revenues. At the same time, it became clear that the other revenues flowing into the municipal budgets, such as profits tax, turnover tax, and subsidies, could not be fully provided in the present national economic situation. Thus, the municipalities suffered losses, yet the government took absolutely no measures to compensate for them.

4. The Council of Ministers approved increases and indexations of wages and social benefits, but transferred the entire burden of making these additional payments to the municipal budgets. The government failed to provide any additional funds for this purpose, thus causing immense uncovered deficits in the municipal budgets.

5. On top of all the foregoing, the Ministry of Finance failed to fulfill its obligations under the actual Budget Act. Up to the beginning of November, the government on average fulfilled only 67 percent of its annual obligations to the municipalities. There is a clearly marked trend for these uncovered debts to increase until the end of the year.

As one can see, in little over a year the government, in its attempts to compromise the principles of democratic self-government in the municipalities, has brought them to a state of deep financial crisis, which in many places is causing, and will continue to cause interruptions in

activities of vital importance to the population in the spheres of communal services, education, health care, and social welfare. One can plainly see a direct danger of a complete collapse in these activities in the majority of the municipalities, which may lead to unforeseeable and uncontrollable social consequences.

The Association of Democratic Municipalities declares that the municipal administrations do not accept any responsibility for the consequences of the government's incompetent and ill-considered actions, and appeals to the Council of Ministers and the National Assembly to immediately address the problem of financing municipal activities, showing a true sense of responsibility for the fate of the country's population, and leaving aside all petty political games. This is the only realistic approach, and the survival of the Bulgarian people depends on it.

[Dated] Sofia, 3 December 1993.

[Signed] Administrative Council of the Association of Democratic Municipalities.

Klaus: 'Russia Cannot Return to the Past'

AU1412074793 Prague CTK in English 1910 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)— Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus believes Russia cannot return to the past, spokeswoman Klara Pospisilova said today, conveying the premier's reaction to the provisional results of yesterday's parliamentary elections in Russia.

Whatever government emerges from the elections, it will not be able to ignore the country's current internal situation and possibilities, nor the altered political situation, she said.

Klaus warns against leaping to conclusions about the new government because "the process of political definition of the parties in Russia obviously has a long-term character," she said. "Drawing conclusions about the results on the basis of the first estimates is treacherous," she told reporters. [passage omitted]

Havel Objects to Owen's Peace Plan for Bosnia

AU1312194693 Prague CTK in English 1704 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 12 (CTK)— A peaceful solution to the conflict in Bosnia through the creation of a "Muslim mini-state," as is proposed by Lord Owen, co-chairman of the Executive Committee of the International Peace Conference in the former Yugoslavia, could not certainly have good prospects, Czech President Vaclav Havel said today.

Havel was commenting in his regular Sunday radio program "Hovory v Lanech," on his meeting with Lord Owen on Wednesday [8 December] at which, he said, "absolute harmony between my viewpoint and that of Lord Owen was not reached."

Havel said it would be very difficult to maintain the integrity of a "Muslim mini-state surrounded by a Serbian and a Croatian Bosnia mini-state which would naturally tend to merge with Croatia and Serbia."

Moreover, such a solution would mean the confirmation of the idea of an ethnically pure state, a state based on those things which distinguish its people from others. Havel stressed that such a state would have "sworn aversion towards others embedded in its very concept." Therefore the problem of a peaceful solution is connected with the protection of basic European values of a civic society, a society which enables all cultural, civilization and religious circles to co-exist without giving up their identity and at the same time accepting the existence of others, Havel said.

He said that in Sarajevo such a situation had once existed. If this principle was sacrificed then "one of the basic principles on which a future united Europe should be build would be undermined," Havel said.

"It is no good emphasizing that this is a problem of ethnic minorities, and that if the relevant rights are given to minorities all will be settled. The more 'nationalized' a state is, the less democratically it is oriented and the more ethnic problems it faces," Havel said.

He said that the establishment of three nationalistic states would not solve the problem of ethnic minorities but would rather create it. In every one of the three states there would be minorities because "Muslims, Serbs, and Croats live on the whole territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina," Havel emphasized.

The numerous ethnic, religious, and other conflicts threatening the current world are connected with the "decline of people's global responsibility," he said.

Havel said that the roots of the current nationalism and fundamentalism and of the elements of the dangerous state of today's world lie in "the pressure of modern civilization towards the unification of culture in different parts of the world which leads nations to the need to emphasize their identity."

"The world has been also shaken by the fall of the bi-polar order," Havel said, adding that a new order, corresponding to the new times and based on multicultural, and multi-polar, world has not yet been created.

He said that the current state of the world should serve as a challenge. If the "fundamental feeling of responsibility for the world is strengthened, then thousands of specific matters, systematic measures could be implemented, and structure given to international organizations," Havel said.

Leaders React to Death of Hungary's Antall

Havel Sends Condolences

AU1412082093 Prague CTK in English 1757 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—Czech President Vaclav Havel sent a telegram of condolence on the death of Hungarian Premier Jozsef Antall to his Hungarian counterpart Arpad Goncz, presidential spokesman Ladislav Spacek told CTK today.

Havel in his message stressed Antall's contribution to the development of good relations between the Czech Republic and Hungary. Havel also offered his condolences to the Hungarian Government and Hungarian citizens. He asked Goncz to deliver his condolences to Antall's family.

Antall, who has been suffering from cancer of the lymphatic glands, died in Budapest on Sunday at the age of 61.

Klaus Sends Condolences

AU1312194093 Prague CTK in English 1435 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)— Czech Premier Vaclav Klaus today sent acting Hungarian Premier Peter Boross a letter of condolence on the death of Premier Jozsef Antall, Klaus' spokeswoman Klara Pospisilova told CTK.

With Antall, Hungary lost a great politician who helped the Hungarians find their way to democracy, prosperity, and traditional European values, Klaus says in a letter written on behalf of the members of the Czech Government and the Czech people as well as himself.

Antall was capable of merging an unwavering stand on these matters with political prudence and foresight, "especially necessary in Central European politics."

"It is just as important for us that Jozsef Antall contributed to the good relations between the Czech Republic and Hungary," Klaus says, adding: "Although we are no longer neighbors, Hungary has remained one of our closest partners."

Russian 'Pressure' on NATO Membership Noted

AU1312170993 Prague CESKY DENIK in Czech 7 Dec 93 p 3

[Josef Mlejnek commentary: "Three Mistakes of the Czech 'Realpolitik'"]

[Text] Russian pressure on the West aimed at preventing the admission of Central and East European countries into NATO is increasing. Last week, Primakov, chief of the Russian secret service, held a news conference—which happens only rarely. "We are not indifferent to the fact that the largest military alliance in the world intends to get closer to our borders," Primakov said. And he made a threat. No one should doubt that Russia is prepared to defend its interests.

Within six months, Moscow has many times issued similar signals with increasing vehemence and in a sharper tone. In the Czech Republic, however, we remain calm and have great excuses for these signals, despite the fact that they have direct impact on us. The easiest thing is to blame it on the election campaign. The Russian leadership allegedly wants to distract the electorate's attention from the pressing domestic problems and to win the elections by playing the so-called "foreign card." That is, after the elections are over, everything will calm down. Therefore, we do not need to preoccupy ourselves with people like Primakov. However, if all the contending parties have an identical view on certain matters, then it is unnecessary to try to attract the electorate's attention by stressing these matters publicly. Primakov's action was directed chiefly toward the people outside Russia. The West, respecting geopolitical factors, will have to take Russia's position into account. By exerting this pressure particularly prior to the NATO summit in January, Russia may achieve results about which no one would have dreamed of until recently.

The wish is father to the thought. This is a well known proverb which describes the erroneous reaction of the Czech political elite. Judging according to his television address, Deputy Foreign Minister Pavel Bratinka is one of the elite members who believes that we are a sovereign country, we can conclude an agreement with the Alliance on our membership—and Russians should not interfere. Bratinka's party chief, Kalvoda (a good friend of Primakov, by the way) recommended "Not to accept Russia's position, and that is all." Such reaction is so naive, however, that even the ODA leaders cannot mean it seriously. The North Atlantic Alliance cannot ignore the opinions of the Russian nuclear power, and neither can our small country in Central Europe, a country that receives all its crude oil and natural gas from this Eastern giant. Crude oil from Bavaria will not flow to our country until about 1996.

If we cannot blame everything on the election campaign and our strong-arm gestures have no effect, then we have a third alternative: the method of "persuasion." Everyone wonders why the Central European countries' joining NATO should pose a threat to such a big country like Russia. The zone of stability and prosperity would be stretched, which is in Russian interests, is it not? Russia really does not have to fear the Central European countries. Russia fears something else—it fears that it could lose its influence. Primakov and other Russian leaders veil this fear with statements about a threat to Russian security. If Russia is rejecting Defense Secretary Les Aspin's plan "Partnership for Peace"—which plan does not provide any security guarantees but only provides for unbinding cooperation, then this must mean something. Russia is irritated at the idea that its former enemies could be even partially present on territory that has belonged to the Soviet empire for 40 years.

Primakov's statements must really be seen through the prism of the approaching NATO summit. The Russian leadership has evidently learned from Vladimir Meciar's tactics of "setting too high a target," and is testing the limits up to where they can push the West. There can be two types of reactions. Either to retreat in the interests of "preserving the democratic development" (only a fool could believe this, however) or to adopt a more fundamental attitude. Former U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger asks in THE WASHINGTON POST: "We resisted the blackmail when Russia was strong. Does it make sense to give up now, when Moscow is weak"?

The Central European countries should openly support this line of thinking in international politics. Otherwise it can happen that in the Czech Republic everyone will cry over the spilt milk once again, accusing one another of being responsible for having waged petty wars between parties for four years after November [1989] and not seeking alternative supplies of raw materials—from anywhere but Russia, and even for a higher price. State sovereignty is worth it, is it not?

Skoda To Take Over Russian Firms as Repayment

AU1112175693 Prague CTK in English 1945 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Plzen, West Bohemia Dec 10 (CTK)—The Czech Ministry of Finance has given the engineering firm Skoda preliminary approval to buy out Russian debts to the Czech Republic in return for ownership in certain Russian enterprises, a spokesman for the firm announced today.

Skoda Director Lubomir Soudek discussed the proposal with Russian Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin during the summer. The company is currently negotiating with Russian firms producing rail-transport equipment. Between 600-900 million crowns (20-30 million USD) worth of receivables are involved, the spokesman noted.

Ruml To 'Take Action' Against Russian Agents

AU1412113693 Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech 9 Dec 93 p 1

["km"-signed report: "The Interior Ministry Does Not Like Moscow's Agents; Ruml Has Doubts About the Words of the Russian Intelligence Chief"]

[Text] Prague—The Ministry of Interior will apparently have to take action against the Russian intelligence service, which, according to the secret report of the Security and Information Service [BIS], continues to operate on the territory of the Czech Republic.

Interior Minister Jan Ruml told MLADA FRONTA DNES yesterday that consequences of principle would have to be drawn, if it is quite conclusively proven that agents of Russian intelligence services operate in certain areas that are of importance to the republic.

According to our information, Devaty's BIS has ascertained that two Russian secret services—the former first administration of the KGB, which is now known under the acronym SUPR, and the military intelligence service GRU—operate on the territory of the Czech Republic.

"Even though Yevgeniy Primakov, chief of Russian intelligence, assured me during my visit to the Russian Federation in October that the Russian intelligence service did not operate on our territory, the data mentioned by the BIS is extremely serious," Ruml said.

The interior minister stressed that Czech security bodies would really have to deal with these issues and draw the appropriate conclusions from it. The minister did not specify their nature, however.

Ruml confirmed, furthermore, that the Ministry of Interior intended to send abroad declared staffers of Czech intelligence who, using open sources, would legally monitor the situation in the country of their assignment. According to Ruml, the Czech Republic has not had such collaborators so far.

"This activity should focus primarily on our neighboring states and on states to the east of the Czech Republic," Ruml specified.

According to the minister, this is an absolutely common practice. "Some such declared staffers of foreign states' intelligence services operate in Prague and we cooperate with them quite routinely," he stated in conclusion.

[On the same page, under the headline "Embassy in Prague: No Comment," MLADA FRONTA DNES carries the following "km"-signed report: "The Russian Embassy will not react to Interior Minister Jan Ruml's statement. Representatives of the Embassy of the Russian Federation said in reply to our question that they had not been officially informed about Minister Ruml's views. The Russian Embassy representatives noted that Ruml had every chance to clarify all matters concerning intelligence services during his talks with Russian officials in Moscow in October. According to unofficial sources, the Russian side regards Minister Ruml's views on the possibility of Russian agents' activity in the Czech Republic as general information."]

Skoda Role in Iranian Nuclear Market Examined

AU1412074193

[Editorial Report] Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 6 December on page 4 carries a 250-word "dk"-signed Jerusalem dispatch entitled "Suspicious Contacts With Iran." The dispatch quotes an article by "Israeli analyst Danny Keshem," published in the Israeli daily HA'ARETZ, date not given, according to which the Czech Skoda Plzen company "is becoming for the U.S. Westinghouse company and the German Siemens concern the gate to the Iranian nuclear market." Prague LIDOVE NOVINY and Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 7 December both publish reactions by a Skoda spokesman to the Israeli analyst's claims.

According to the HA'ARETZ article, as reported by LIDOVE NOVINY, by using Skoda to gain access to the "Iranian nuclear market," Westinghouse and Siemens "violate the restrictions imposed by their home countries on trade with Iran." Danny Keshem is also quoted as having voiced the suspicion that "in conjunction with the completion of their nuclear power station, Iranian authorities are trying to turn Prague into a 'shopping center' for technologies, know how, and materials that they would be denied elsewhere. The anxiety is arising in the world that Iran will also be buying materials and information needed to produce conventional and unconventional (chemical and biological) weapons." Finally, LIDOVE NOVINY quotes the Israeli analyst's claim that "among the numerous Iranian officials who have recently visited Prague was a high-level intelligence officer."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 7 December on page 1 carries a 400-word "gag"-signed report entitled "Only Sugar Refineries and Means of Transport for Iran." The report states: "Jaroslav Hudec, the press

spokesman of Skoda Plzen, confirmed that Skoda Director General Lubomir Soudek paid a visit to Iran from 27 November to 3 December where he discussed possibilities of cooperation in power engineering, the construction of sugar refineries, and transport engineering. Jaroslav Hudec considers the speculations voiced in LIDOVE NOVINY [of 6 December] misleading. He did, nonetheless, term as promising Skoda's cooperation with Iranian companies on power engineering projects. The spokesman stressed that, with the exception of a quite specific product range for the operation of nuclear power stations, the scope of which is limited, Skoda did not maintain any contacts, and engaged in virtually no trading activities, with the Westinghouse company. The negotiations with the Siemens company, which continue, concern the founding of a joint venture for the production of turbines."

The report also quotes the reaction of Bretislav Gregr, director of the Industry and Trade Ministry's Licensing Administration, to the HA'ARETZ report. Gregr is quoted as saying that "Skoda Plzen has not applied for a license to export goods or technologies that are subject to licensing procedures" and that he was therefore "unable to confirm" the allegations about Skoda's activities on the Iranian nuclear market. Gregr explains that all exports of military and dual-purpose goods and technologies require a license from his administration.

Prague MLADA FRONTA DNES in Czech on 7 December on page 14 carries a 300-word "hc"-signed report entitled "Skoda Plzen Rejects Accusations." According to the report, "Jaroslav Hudec, Skoda Plzen's press spokesman, yesterday described as speculations a report by the Israeli daily HA'ARETZ that Skoda was becoming a gate for the U.S. Westinghouse company and the German Siemens concern to enter the Iranian nuclear market." Hudec reportedly added that "seeking any connection between Skoda chief Lubomir Soudek's visit to Iran last week and the suspicions voiced by the Israeli paper HA'ARETZ was misleading because Soudek's was a normal trade mission."

Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech on 6 December on page 2 carries a 200-word CTK report entitled "Skoda Plzen Operates in Iran." According to the report, during his visit to Iran Skoda Plzen Director General Lubomir Soudek discussed with Iranian officials the establishment of two joint ventures—one for the production of equipment for sugar refineries and one for the production of trolley buses for the Teheran municipal transport authority. Skoda, together with other Czech companies, reportedly also participates in a tender for the construction of seven sugar refineries in Iran with an aggregate value of 20 billion Czech korunas. "Skoda's cooperation on power generating projects in Iran is not ruled out either," the report adds, without providing any further details.

Talks With Iran Confirmed

AU1412074393 Prague CTK in English 1917 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Plzen, west Bohemia, Dec 13 (CTK)— No agreement on the construction of a nuclear power plant has been signed between Iran and the Plzen-based Skoda heavy engineering concern, but if Iran shows interest in such a project, Skoda will react positively, Skoda spokesman Jaroslav Hudec said today.

He was referring to the information on Skoda's possible participation in the construction of a nuclear power plant in Iran, which was recently published by the media.

Hudec told CTK that during his visit to Iran at the end of November and at the beginning of December, Skoda Director General Lubomir Soudek also discussed the nuclear power industry. Czech Foreign Ministry had been informed in advance of these negotiations, as well as of their preliminary and informative character.

Hudec stressed that Skoda did not consider this procedure the Czech Government's approval of a possible future agreement. Approval would require further negotiations with the relevant ministries, he said. However, Skoda believes it has the right to hold preliminary talks with its foreign partners, he stated.

Poll: 47 Percent Favor NATO Membership

AU1312194193 Prague CTK in English 1247 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)— Nearly half of Czech citizens believe the Czech Republic should join NATO, according to a November poll by the Institute for Public Opinion Research. About one-third of the 47 percent favoring membership were strongly in favor. By contrast, 18 percent of those polled were inclined not to favor membership in the alliance, while nine percent were strongly opposed to it.

The number of people favoring membership was slightly higher than in similar polls in October 1991 and May 1993.

Asked which other countries should be the Czech Republic's main partners, 21 percent said Western countries including Germany, while 13 percent said Western countries but not Germany. Seventeen percent favored close cooperation with the country's neighbors, but only three percent said Slovakia.

A full third of the respondents (34 percent) said they felt the greatest threat to the country from the former Soviet Union, while 13 percent said Germany and five percent the former Yugoslavia. Twenty-four percent said they felt no threat from any country.

Army Presents Data on Disarmament Compliance

AU1412082293 Prague CTK in English 1618 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 13 (CTK)—A total of 492 tanks, 499 armored cars, 621 guns, and 25 combat aircraft have been destroyed during the first stage of the implementation of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) treaty, the Defense Ministry Press Office told CTK today.

This list includes the relative part of equipment (100 tanks, 52 armored cars, 131 guns, and 4 combat aircraft) destroyed prior to December 31, 1992, in the former Federal (Czechoslovak) Army.

According to the timetable of the former Czechoslovak Army, the decrease in equipment and arms was divided into three periods: (I) July 17, 1992 to November 13, 1993, (II) November 14, 1993, to November 13, 1994, and (III) November 14, 1994, to November 13, 1995. By the latter date, the stipulated levels are to be achieved.

In addition to the decrease in equipment and arms, the Czech Army has conducted this year eight inspections of superfluous equipment and arms in Belgium, Denmark, Italy, Germany, the Netherlands, Great Britain, and U.S. Army facilities in Germany.

Altogether 13 inspections, focused on the proper technological implementation of the destruction of superfluous military equipment and technology as well as on checking the quantity of the destroyed arms, were conducted by Czech Army officials in Hungary, Germany, the Netherlands, Norway, Italy, Romania, and Greece.

At the same time, eight inspections of specified places and 67 inspections supervising the liquidation of superfluous arms were carried out in the Czech Republic. Inspection teams from Canada, Hungary, Portugal, Romania, and Great Britain were involved in them.

The Czech Army's superfluous arms and technology is stored in Holysov, west Bohemia, Jihlava, south Moravia, Felbabka, central Bohemia, Libava, north Moravia, Jaromer, east Bohemia and Terezin, central Bohemia.

The CFE, signed in Paris in 1990, has stipulated a maximum level of 957 tanks, 1,367 armored cars, 767 guns, 230 combat aircraft, and 50 combat helicopters for the Czech Republic.

New KDS Chairman Ivan Pilip Profiled

AU1312194793 Prague CTK in English 1617 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Prague, Dec 12 (CTK)—Ivan Pilip, the newly-elected chairman of the Christian Democratic Party (KDS), is an energetic 30-year old known to the public above all as the deputy minister of education, youth and sport, and is often seen in the media talking about the aims and strategies of education policy and clarifying the government's education plans.

The press has also compared him more and more often to the current leaders of right-wing parties. In October this year he told a press conference that he would agree to run for KDS chairman if proposed.

Pilip joined the KDS in April 1990, and in April 1993 was elected chairman of the party's Political Council. He wants to give the KDS the profile of a modern Christian party, which will not however be religiously affiliated to any church, and in which the Christian element concerns rather the value system of the European cultural tradition.

Pilip believes that the KDS, which in 1992 formed a pre-election coalition with the Civic Democratic Party (ODS), should run independently in the next parliamentary elections. He believes the slight success of the KDS in the last elections lay in a failure to address the public sufficiently, caused by a program that was formulated on too general a level. Pilip's aim within the KDS, therefore, is first to formulate a more specific electoral program, putting the emphasis on clarity, intelligibility, and attractiveness to the voter.

On Saturday [11 December], the first day of the KDS conference, Pilip said that what was most important was to assess the situation of the party in local politics. The KDS should pay more attention to its local branches, he said, adding that a standard political party should have a firm electoral base.

Ivan Pilip was born on August 4, 1963 in Prague. He is married, and his wife Lucie is spokesperson for the Foreign Ministry. They have no children. Pilip graduated from the University of Economics (VSE) in Prague, where he studied international economics and trade. He worked in the Academy of Sciences and the VSE, and after having the family's property in Malsice, south Bohemia returned to him in the restitution process he has managed a factory with 80 employers which produces medical products.

Comments on Party Policies

AU1312194893 Prague CTK in English 1802 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Olomouc, north Moravia, Dec 12 (CTK)— The Christian Democratic Party (KDS) stood for a conservative approach, the attempt to renew the "traditional" structure of society, to get rid of the inheritance of the (communist) past and to build something new, Ivan Pilip, the newly-elected chairman of the KDS, said in an interview for CTK today.

Pilip said that he believed the KDS had not yet found enough support on these points, adding that the party's main task in the year remaining before local elections was to show that it was capable of finding this help. "Above all this means turning to people, listening to what is worrying them, and carrying our policies to the regions, which is where most of our work will be," he said. The KDS had to have a higher profile and to be more firmly established on the political scene, Pilip said.

He said he did not think that most of the votes for Vaclav Benda (the other candidate and outgoing chairman) were votes against himself and vice versa. "I believe it was more of a signal that... we have to build on the tested principles and values which we possess and which we have not moved away from," he said. The party's activity had to be dynamized and given new impulses, Pilip said.

Pilip said he did not intend to change anything concerning the mainstays of the party programmed—the restitution of church property and the local administration system.

For the local elections, new subjects had to be opened, which were closer to local politics—social questions, education, taxes, and so on, he said.

A one-sided orientation within the governing coalition would not benefit it, Pilip said. "Developments in the last two years since the parliamentary elections have shown that on various subjects various parties are sometimes close to each other and sometimes further apart. We have to try and find partners where they are close to our program, and not cling to someone, only pointing to our differences here and there," Pilip said.

He also expressed a desire to intensify cooperation with other parties, and to look for points of contact, although the KDS should "take above all its own program as its starting point, and try to find its own way."

In a speech to delegates at the KDS conference today, Pilip said that sources of new dynamism for the future development of the KDS had to be found. One of the most important tasks of the KDS would be the search for contacts with people, who would run as KDS candidates in the local elections next year, Pilip said, adding that right-wing and conservative parties, including nonparliamentary ones like the Club of Committed Nonparty Members (KAN), should draw closer together.

Installment of Meciar Speech Published

AU1412093993 Bratislava SLOVENSKY DENNIK in Slovak 9 Dec 93 p 3

[Third of three installments of "authentic record" of the speech by Vladimir Meciar, prime minister and chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia, HZDS, at a meeting with top-ranking HZDS officials on the weekend of 27-28 November reprinted from SLOVENSKY VYCHOD of 8 December: "The Slovak Zlata Idka Watergate"]

[Text] Yesterday, SLOVENSKY VYCHOD published the final installment of the speech by Vladimir Meciar in Zlata Idka on the weekend of 27-28 November. The editors of the daily promise to have proof of the authenticity of the transcript. We carry all the installments of the transcript with the approval of the SLOVENSKY VYCHOD editorial office and render the text verbatim as published by SLOVENSKY VYCHOD.

Today, we carry the final part of the record of the speech by Vladimir Meciar, delivered at the meeting with the top-ranking officials of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] in eastern Slovakia that took place in Zlata Idka near Kosice on 27-28 November. We emphasize that it is a verified transcript, and the SLOVENSKY VYCHOD editorial office has proof of its authenticity.

About Local Elections

In this passage, Meciar spoke about the situation when the list of mayoralty candidates does not include HZDS members:

An agreement should be reached with them regarding the support from the HZDS during the elections, and a subsequent cooperation. He does not have to be a HZDS candidate for us to support him by our membership and popularity. We can make his campaign. There is no such thing, however, as a free lunch. There must be some kind of commitment between him and the political center. I just want to point out that these are the most confidential matters in any center. They are never published, for such a candidate would be finished, he could pack up the entire campaign. The social democrats, for instance, lost in the elections only because they did not manage to keep secret that they attended a meeting with me. A slip of someone's tongue, and the Zalaites [followers of Zala, leader of a social democrat faction] lost.

In the United States, for Instance....

We are taking such measures as the current health care reform, which should endure for 30-40 years. The foundations laid now definitely should last that long. All this will certainly change in time. There is an even bigger mess in the U.S. health care than in ours! The mess in their education is so great, that there is really no need to imitate them. That is... a couple of things are good, and the rest is not worth a farthing. That applies to the insurance and to everything else. Mr. Clinton admits today that the situation is catastrophic. We are using other mechanisms, however, to make it work. That is the period we must somehow overcome.

It Is Different in Central Slovakia

In central Slovakia, the atmosphere among the people, the chairmen, is completely different from the one here. You seem to me somehow timorous—all of you, do not be mad at me. The membership is not very numerous here, and... was also the least here. This leads to another important issue: The people's driving force is their belief that a change is imminent. It provides them with the certainty and guarantee that they can steamroller anyone in any elections. They also believe that precisely the HZDS is the only party for which they can vote. ...People say: However bad you may be, you still are better than the others....

Let Us Compare Ourselves

If there is a crisis in the entire world, it was not caused by the HZDS or Meciar. That must be dealt with throughout Europe. Do you believe that the Germans are better off? They have a higher unemployment rate than we do. The former GDR [German Democratic Republic] has 3.5 million unemployed. That is quite a number. Take Denmark; the unemployment rate is higher than in Slovakia. Take Sweden; the epitome of prosperity, and the number of unemployed is higher than here. Thus, when it comes to arguments, we must get out of a certain siege, and apply the method of comparison. Just consider this: Hungary used to export food. Today, if you bring a chicken to a family living in Hungary, they will eulogize you. They will have it for, let us say, two weeks, and they will be so grateful that someone brought it, that they have something to eat. If you just begin to compare, everything appears different.

About the 1,000-Koruna Banknotes

As we were parting from the Czechs, Kocarnik with Strasky told me: In March, you will be on your knees, and in April you will come crawling back. You will see what will happen then! And I said: What year are you talking about, boys? (Laughter) April is long gone, and we are not yet crawling.

Now, for instance, this operation with money was prepared, and five states took part in this. Even some prominent personalities from near us participated.... So, as we went for the first time to the same Police Presidium, and I was sending the experts off, I told them: Go there, but do not let on what it is all about. Tell them it is about drug money. Subsequently, the police president of this state received them and told them: Dear gentlemen, this money is not used for narcotics, but rather for politics. As it arrives on your territory, your government will fall within a week, and your economy will be belly up within two weeks.

That was a direct hit at the very foundations of economic relations in Slovakia. Now we are going to do the locking

up. Some fled the country, others claim they had nothing to do with it.... Thus, these measures are being taken, this struggle is taking a political course; it has a somewhat different form today, but is just as frequent.

At the Head of Three Battalions

In the east, I beg of you, there is another major political problem—the Sub-Carpathian Ukraine. Its autonomy was to be declared on 29 October. The Ukraine, Kiev, was ready to use arms in suppressing this event. Only a few know that I was in eastern Slovakia, that I alerted the army defense staff, boosted security, ordered the officers to be ready, and we were waiting prepared for the possibility that the autonomy is declared with civic unrests ensuing, that the hell might break loose at our border. We did not want to perturb anyone, but I alerted the staffs, police and army. Next, I was waiting, and if it actually happened, I would take all three east Slovak battalions and marched with them to the border—as their commander....

About Kosice

(a) About Newspapers, Radio, and Television

You managed to foul up several things in Kosice, and that is why you have difficulties.... First of all, you have become so divided internally that you impeded your fundamental ability [as published]. It is difficult for you even to create a municipal center, and the elections must be organized centrally and on a long-term basis. It will be necessary to return to this. It weakened you tremendously, and it damaged your popularity.... The mayoral election brought us more harm than use. Similarly the New Year celebrations did not work out—you are the only city that did not do anything at night.... You manage, or do not manage, for instance, to penetrate the intellectuals, the academic community. It is not enough. Something is indicated a bit, and a little bit it is not. The young people do not believe it.

Regarding the conditions, taken objectively, it is difficult here, and therefore we support and endorse this newspaper (Meciar displayed a newspaper that he had on him—it is a certain east Slovak daily with a minimum circulation that operates with a substantial loss as the eastern Slovaks buy only very few copies of it—SLOVENSKY VYCHOD note). We support the paper economically so it can survive in the east, although it is weak and the circulation is low.

Certain steps will be taken in Slovak Television. That director in Slovak Radio should be more reasonable now, for his father is with us (a voice is heard—Mr. Reznik Sr.). The Television remains a real problem in the east.... Thus, in the spirit of these dispositions, an assistance from our side is necessary. Nevertheless, that fundamental work from a man to a man is left to us.

I admit that of all the regions, the situation in Kosice is the most difficult one. That is given by the concrete circumstances—the Czechoslovakists, the Party of the Democratic Left, and the proponents of the groupings that are to solicit support. These elections... will show us who has more voting supporters. If... to all our 300 people to vote, what will you achieve? Even if each of them takes his wife and children.... You have the Kosice head of the district office, but it seems to me that you are losing him. You chose him, and trusted him. You have a government commissioner from Kosice, although he is originally from Detva. Nonetheless, you know, he is from here, from the east. You chose him, too, and we embraced your choice. We accepted all your selections for the state administration posts.

A Talk Goes Around

We are going to speed through the rest of the authentic record of the speech by Vladimir Meciar, HZDS chairman and prime minister. Because of the length of the record, in places it will no longer be a precise transcript. Nevertheless, it will remain the rendition of what took place between the chairman of the movement and the district officials from the Slovak eastern region.

Being Alone Is a Hopeless Situation

To the idea expressed by the officials from Svidnik and Humenne that the territorial coverage could be expanded by the system of one member per one club, Meciar replied: "If you do not improve this, we can lose the elections; 259 members in a district with a population of 112,000, that is a drop in the ocean. We need at least 500 members, at least five for each club. Being the only one is a hopeless situation."

A HZDS representative from the Poprad district complained that, as far as the sympathizers go, it is rather problematic: "We are to address the intelligentsia, but that is a difficult task. It is hard to ask of physicians that they publicly promote HZDS ideas." He added the following objection: "A judge with a fresh diploma is paid a salary of between 12,000 and 15,000 korunas, while a physician, leading specialist prior to retirement, makes 7,000." "Regarding the preelection activities, we make one or two trips every week. The deputy goes, and we build on that...." "The new partition into the four regions is very unpopular in our region. They take it as a HZDS design, and we are going to have problems with this."

[Meciar] What would they like, three regions?

[Voice] Three.

[Meciar] Everything but Presov.

[Voice] The connection is very inconvenient for our region. If we get on the train, it takes an hour to Kosice, but half a day of travel to Presov. That is the opinion of all citizens from the region. If that is the case, no support can be expected in the local elections. It is perceived literally as a matter of the HZDS.

The Judges Are Not Really Altogether Independent

In this part of the discussion, an objection was heard from the Poprad citizen stating that a replacement of the head of the district office would only increase the authority of the Christian Democratic Movement. Therefore, they do not support this replacement. "A major action calls for a major reaction.... He is supported even by the chairman of the Association of Cities and Communities in Slovakia. One can work with him. Even though he is from the Party of the Democratic Left, he is cooperative." If they insisted on the replacement, "it would only win us more enemies."

[Meciar] Since January, the health care and physicians are linked to the insurance system. This will result in some physicians being very successful and others being out of work. The difference will grow. If the physician were to have their salaries increased soon to surpass those of judges.... A lawyer has a very lucrative profession. Claiming their independence, the judges want to eliminate the state. For anything, they cannot grasp the idea that they are independent in their decision, but not in their work as here they are not independent from the state....

I realize that you object to Presov, but you must belong somewhere. The ability of economic life has to be autonomous.... There may be even larger wards (regions?). We may go back to the larger ones—Kosice, Banska Bystrica, Bratislava, if the majority wants it, let us do it. These six months are available for unification. Every region claims its identity. What is to happen with the viable whole? Slovakia will be thus divided into 8-100 parts. There are basically only three alternatives, today just two: eight or three.

(Voice, probably from Presov) Definitely for Presov, as they made bad experience with Kosice.

"Do Not Call Me Down Here, Again"

In the meantime, the discussion turned around the need for 520 candidates for the local elections, 120 mayors, etc. The Poprad citizens were suddenly heard saying that they are leaving as they have an action planned.

[Meciar] You are leaving Poprad. It is your business, go, but do not call me to come down here, again! ..Presov has one-half of what is in Poprad, where the largest membership is. All the Kosice HZDS members number a little over 300 people. It is a luxury to maintain a HZDS organization in a large city in this form.

During the discussion, a complaint was heard from deputy Gburova that nobody in Kosice is interested in her. They call her to districts of Trbisov, Vranov, and Michalovce. She does not want to name anybody, but that is the state of affairs. I.A. Balko, HZDS Kosice chairman, responded sharply to this complaint by saying that Mrs. Gburova should not think that she is the only deputy. Moreover, it is, and will be, impossible to work with her as she had been a member of the Communist Party.

End

We will close the rather more free interpretation of the speech at the HZDS officials' meeting with a note on whether one needs to delve also in the internal situation of the movement with the help of its members.

It also is a picture of democracy, what and how is discussed in the HZDS environment. The concentration of power and the endeavor to decide everything in a single movement—although it obtained the most votes in the elections—are a bad sign not only for the fate of the hard tried democracy in Slovakia, but also a bad appraisal for the movement itself, which was honored by the trust of more than 30 percent of votes in the elections. In the plurality democracies, the opposition—almost the difference to 100 percent—is not there to record such a situation and sleep on its findings. Its role is to monitor the victors, reveal their undemocratic practices, and pillory this behavior. That is what we are doing. The parliament, the supreme constitutional body for the citizens—voters, but also for the state, is to do the rest.

Meciar Rejects Confirmation Request

AU1412114693 Prague CTK in English 0807 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 14 (CTK)—Premier Vladimir Meciar last night brushed off journalists who attempted to question him about the authenticity of the alleged transcript of his recent speech in Zlata Idka, east Slovakia.

"Give me some peace already. Stop bothering and humiliating me," Meciar said.

The independent daily NARODNA OBRODA writes today that instead of either confirming or denying the authenticity of the transcript, the premier continues to blast the media for quoting him incompletely or out of context, something that could only be done by someone suffering from amnesia, who frequently forgets what he said and when.

A confirmation of authenticity is not a sacred demand, the editors of NARODNA OBRODA and the opposition-oriented SLOVENSKY VYCHOD said, but the demand is also not a plot against Meciar. The premier must know very well, they added, that the transcript published by the two papers is authentic and that the leak of the text was not due to some Watergate-like methods or technology.

Moravcik Criticizes Speech

AU1412073193 Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak 10 Dec 93 pp 1,2

[Interview with Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik by Ivan Horsky in Bratislava on 9 December: "Acquiescence Leads To Diktat"]

[Text] Bratislava—A Movement For a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] Council meeting will be held in Trebisov at the weekend. When Foreign Minister Jozef

Moravcik—who is a member of the Council—was leaving for eastern Slovakia on Thursday [9 December] morning, we asked him for his point of view on the most important domestic political issues, which also include the situation within the governing movement.

[Horsky] The hottest topic at the moment is the speech made by the HZDS chairman and prime minister in Zlata Idka. He has not issued an explicit denial, so we can assume it is genuine. Mr. Meciar spoke about many domestic and international issues, while his diction in particular and the form of some of his statements were surprising. As a member of the Council and the head of Slovak diplomacy, what do you think of it?

[Moravcik] I have to say that I was not actually there. I have not discussed this issue, even with the prime minister. I can, however, speak about the manner in which domestic and foreign policy issues were presented there. This is at variance with the HZDS' principles and it is also at variance with the HZDS' undertaking, which is expressed not only in its name, but also in its program. Presenting the issues like this would testify to a certain political naivete and to a very course vulgarization of the relations that are being forged within the movement.

[Horsky] Has the government also discussed this affair? After all, the issue there did not only involve the HZDS.

[Moravcik] It is apparent from the issues that have been put forward as the contents of the meeting that it concerned HZDS internal affairs. From this point of view, it does not have to be a subject for discussion in the government. Of course, the specific issues discussed there are another matter; they would, obviously, require government decisions.

I would also like to point out that, as far as the HZDS' orientation is concerned, the movement must maintain its ability to conduct a civilized political dialogue. This should involve all the components that determine HZDS policy, because only dialogue can lead to compromise. Policy cannot be based on acquiescence, because that leads to diktat. This is absolutely unacceptable to the HZDS, if we proceed from its actual program.

[Horsky] At the Slovakia Plus meeting, Prime Minister Meciar expressed serious reservations against the activity of your department or, to be more precise, against the people who work in it. It is rather surprising that he criticized only this department, because everyone else also worked in the former Federation; it was not possible to do otherwise. Why has diplomacy become the target for such sharp criticism?

[Moravcik] Again, I have to say that I was not at this meeting. I know of it only from the press, so I do not know if the prime minister expressed himself in such a manner or if it was merely presented this way.

However, I think it is high time to cease differentiating between people who were for the Federation or against it. We now have completely new tasks and we have to concentrate on fulfilling them. We have to make use of all our potential, because, if we were to continue this differentiation, it could turn out that we would have no one to build our state with and all of our efforts would be considerably weakened.

[Horsky] Many diplomats have already registered such signs and are asking privately whether they should pack their bags.

[Moravcik] I firmly stand by what I said as the last federal foreign minister during the division of the CSFR, that is, that Slovakia will welcome everyone who wants to take part in shaping Slovakia's statehood. Those who came forward have accepted our challenge, and I have absolutely no reason to doubt their decision or the results of their work. I have to say that they work very actively toward ensuring that our foreign policy and our diplomacy are capable—within the framework of their possibilities—of safeguarding and defending the interests of the Slovak Republic.

Organizations, Church Deny Support for HZDS

AU1312140893

[Editorial Report] Slovak newspapers on 7 and 8 December publish several statements issued by Slovak organizations in response to remarks reportedly made by Vladimir Meciar, chairman of the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia [HZDS] and Slovak prime minister, at a meeting with HZDS activists at Zlata Idka, east Slovakia, in which he identified these organizations as clandestine HZDS supporters.

Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 7 December on page 2 carries a 200-word TA SR report entitled "Korene's Roots." The report states: "The Association of Slovak Intelligentsia—Korene [Roots] is not, has never been, and will never be the intellectual branch of some party or movement. This was stated by Viliam Hornacek, the association's chairman, in response to articles in some Slovak dailies, according to which HZDS Chairman Vladimir Meciar supposedly said at Zlata Idka that Korene was the intellectual club of the HZDS. Viliam Hornacek went on to say that Korene had already been regarded as the intellectual branch of the Slovak National Party and, in connection with the discussion of the language law, as emissaries of the Slovak Heritage Foundation. He stressed that Korene cooperated with everyone ready to contribute to the Slovaks' process of emancipation, regardless of nationality and political affiliation, and that it had been founded much earlier than the HZDS itself."

Bratislava NARODNA OBRODA in Slovak on 7 December on page 12 carries a 200-word statement issued by J. Slamka, spokesman for the Slovak Bishops' Conference, in response to Meciar's alleged statement that masses were being celebrated throughout Slovakia "in which bishops were proclaiming that the government had been given by God and had to be respected." According to Slamka, "I have not heard from any

bishop, priest, or believer that a mass was celebrated for the government. Therefore, I do not know where this information came from." Slamka points out that, according to St. Paul, believers should pray for the authority, which, however, is a general principle of the church. He continues: "We want those in power to be just, honest, and trustworthy. That is what we pray for, not for some movement or party to win the elections. It is claimed in the [prime minister's] statement that the government had been given by God. This is a very simplified understanding. It is a very false interpretation that our Lord would wish that the government should consist of this or that specific person."

Bratislava REPUBLIKA in Slovak on 8 December on page 3 carries a 350-word statement issued by the Slovak Heritage Foundation in response to Meciar's alleged claim that the Foundation had been given the Neografia printing plant, which is worth 600 million Slovak korunas, for just one koruna in return for its support for the HZDS. In its statement, the Slovak Heritage Foundation says that the "return of Neografia" to it was "a partial redress of the wrongs inflicted upon the Slovak Heritage Foundation in the past years of totalitarianism" and an expression of the government's will to "assist the Slovak Heritage Foundation in protecting its most precious cultural and intellectual fund." "This government step must on no account be associated with some kind of a 'commitment' by the Slovak Heritage Foundation toward the HZDS," the statement declares. In the statement, the Slovak Heritage Foundation also affirms its status as a "national and cultural institution that is above party affairs" and its "readiness to cooperate with everyone who applies himself in the service to the nation and the new Slovak Republic."

Meciar Praises Antall as 'Reliable Partner'

LD1412060193 Bratislava STV 1 Television Network in Slovak 1830 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Today, after the end of coalition talks between the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia and the Slovak National Party, Prime Minister Vladimir Meciar spoke about the deceased Hungarian prime minister.

[Begin Meciar recording] Premier Antall was somebody whom I could trust, and he could trust me, though this was not how the public perceived it. It was possible to conclude very serious agreements with him.

As far as possible political changes are concerned, the selection of a new Hungarian prime minister plays a great role now, especially as the Hungarian elections are approaching.

Although we held opposite views on many issues, Premier Antall was a very reliable partner. I recall our last talks when I criticized Hungarian policy for a number of faults, describing them as hindrance to our steps. On that occasion he told me, rather resolutely and with sadness in his voice: I am not the one who does it. It is true that among those in the same wing of the political party he was one of the moderate, rational politicians, and was interested in adjusting our relations. However, each of us can do only what his environment allows for.

Opposition Leader Discusses Joint Program

AU1412082693 Prague CTK in English 2112 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava, Dec 13 (CTK)—Leaders of opposition parliamentary parties will meet shortly to agree on a joint approach towards the government of Premier Vladimir Meciar, deputy chairman of the Alliance of Slovak Democrats (ADSR) Jan Budaj said today.

Speaking at an impromptu press conference after an opposition party meeting, Budaj said that the Democratic Left Party (SDL), the Christian Democratic Movement (KDH), the ADSR, and the ethnic Hungarian parties, the Hungarian Christian Democratic Movement and Egyutteles, would not vote for the law on the 1994 state budget which is to be presented on December 15.

Budaj also said the opposition had agreed to support an amendment to the privatization law which the SDL had proposed. "The bill aims to decentralize decision-making, to simplify and speed up privatization," he said.

Representatives of opposition parties had also briefly discussed the speech Meciar gave before party officials at Zlata Idka in east Slovakia on November 27. Several Slovak newspapers have reported that in the speech Meciar described the tactics the Movement for a Democratic Slovakia (HZDS) would adopt in the event of early elections and declared that the HZDS could "hammer" all-comers. Meciar has thus far refused to answer journalists' questions about the speech. Budaj denied that opposition parties would attempt to pass a vote of no-confidence in the government. Such a move would only come after "a sensitively prepared and skillfully agreed political operation," he said.

Gasparovic: Minority Problems 'Serious'

AU1412111993 Prague CTK in English 2155 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 13 (CTK)—The situation in south Slovakia is so serious that it cannot be simply brushed aside, Slovak Parliament Chairman Ivan Gasparovic is quoted as having said today by Slovak Radio. South Slovakia is largely inhabited by ethnic Hungarians who number some 560,000 or 11 percent of Slovakia's population.

The supreme state officials, President Michal Kovac, Premier Vladimir Meciar, Gasparovic, deputy premiers and deputy chairman of parliament met today to discuss the issue. According to the radio, they have agreed that Kovac would assume the initiative to solve the ethnic minorities' problems. The activity of Slovak supreme state officials came in reaction to a request made by

representatives of the ethnic Hungarian parties to convoke a meeting which would deal with ethnic minorities, the Slovak Radio reported.

Slovak representatives also discussed a statement by the Association of Cities and Towns of Zitny Ostrov which convoked a session on January 8 in Komarno, south Slovakia. This, in turn, is reportedly to initiate the creation of a province with its own self-administration and special legal position based on the relevant recommendation from the Council of Europe. The proportion of ethnic Hungarians in Zitny Ostrov is highest all over Slovakia about 85 percent.

Arpad Duka-Zolyomi, a deputy for Egyutteles, 12 deputies in the 150-seat Slovak parliament, told the Slovak Radio that it was necessary for the activity of the Hungarian minority not to contradict the Slovak Constitution. He noted that the ethnic minorities' issue was not a purely domestic affair, but also international. He said that Egyutteles had presented a bill on ethnic minorities, but the Slovak parliament had not discussed it yet.

Moravcik Responds to Helsinki Watch Claims

LD1312140593 Prague Radiozurnal Radio Network in Czech 1100 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] According to Slovak Foreign Minister Jozef Moravcik, the protection of minorities in Slovakia is better than in Hungary. This is what he said in response to Helsinki Watch objections to the alleged discrimination of minorities and the lack of freedom of the media in Slovakia. Speaking about the Helsinki Watch report he said that it is partially objective, although there is an excessive criticism in the presentation of some developments.

As far as the real protection of minorities is concerned, the situation in Slovakia is on a good level. It is better than in Hungary. Jozef Moravcik did however concede that some negative phenomena concerning the Romany ethnic group (?as described by Helsinki Watch) were true. He pointed out that these phenomena exist also in other countries, for example in the Czech Republic.

Russia To Begin Delivering Military Supplies

AU1012202593 Prague CTK in English 1855 GMT 10 Dec 93

[Text] Bratislava Dec 10 (CTK)—Russia will start supplying special equipment to Slovakia, as agreed by Slovak Defence Minister Imrich Andrejcak and Russian Deputy Premier Yurii Yarov, next week, the Slovak Defence Ministry announced today. A spokeswoman told CTK that a group of service experts carrying components to exported equipment will arrive in Slovakia next week. Five MiG-29 jets will fly to Slovakia around December 20.

An agreement about a partial repayment of the former Soviet Union's debt to Slovakia with supplies of special equipment was signed by Yarov in Bratislava on November 30, shortly after Andrejcak's visit to Moscow. Under the agreement, Slovakia will receive from Russia armaments and components worth 180 million dollars. Russia's debt towards Slovakia amounts to 1.5 billion dollars.

Boross Nominated To Succeed Prime Minister

Wins Vote on Second Ballot

LD1412043993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 2300 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] It was decided late in the evening at the joint session of the MDF [Hungarian Democratic Forum] national board and parliamentary group that they propose the interior minister as prime minister to succeed the deceased Jozsef Antall. Edit Schranz and Robert Richard Kiss report from the venue of the conference.

[Kiss] In the second ballot, nearly two-thirds of the members of the national board and the parliamentary group cast their votes for Peter Boross against [Finance Minister] Ivan Szabo. As it is known, in the first round, of the three candidates Peter Boross received 89 votes, Ivan Szabo received 79 votes, and [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur got 62 votes. Only Ivan Szabo and Peter Boross ran in the second round. Finally, the majority voted for Boross.

We voted for security and continuity, Imre Konya, the parliamentary group leader, said after the session. Then he added that it was a nice feeling that the MDF was not left on its own with its decision, because the now elected prime minister candidate enjoyed the support of the coalition parties, as well.

The decisive factor in favor of Peter Boross was that last year he did a firm and well-received job in the MDF, and he substituted for the prime minister with enormous energy and convincing power, said Sandor Lezsak, executive chairman of the MDF.

By the way, the decision has been made in circumstances that demonstrate that we are witnessing the rebirth of the MDF, the party's leaders emphasized. They did so in view of the fact that the entire group of MDF parliamentary deputies was present, and alongside the 134 deputies, the 109 National Board members also participated in the session. It was stressed at the start of the session that whatever the decision was to be, it would be represented in a united fashion.

[Schranz] Peter Boross, in his capacity as nominee to the post of prime minister, announced that if the National Assembly also accepts his nomination, he would not plan fundamental changes in the government. According to Boross, the selection of a possible new interior minister will become timely when the National Assembly votes for him as prime minister. Boross also said that he would do everything in his power to ensure that the MDF will receive the voters' confidence at the forthcoming elections.

In reply to the question whether he considers it a good thing that the post of MDF chairman and the post of prime minister should be continued to be filled by the same person, Boross told us that he does not wish to be the chairman of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, because he considers that this task has to be given to the founders of the MDF.

At the press briefing, questions were asked about the content of Jozsef Antall's political legacy, which was mentioned by Sandor Lezsak [MDF executive chairman] on Monday morning. Boross said in his reply that he is aware of only one letter, which he was acquainted with at the government's session last night. This is the letter written by Antall prior to his medical treatment in Cologne. It says that as long as the prime minister is unable to fulfill his prime ministerial functions, Boross should substitute for him. The letter also says that in case of the death of the prime minister, procedures have to be implemented according to the stipulations of the constitution. Boross also said that Antall dictated another letter, however, it does not refer to personal matters but contains the spiritual guidance for the MDF. Imre Konya, leader of the MDF parliamentary group, in connection with this, emphasized that the letter written before Cologne did not influence today's voting, for it did not refer to this period.

Officials Comment on Selection

LD1412112193 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0545 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report on interviews with Prime Minister-Designate Peter Boross, Imre Konya, leader of the Hungarian Democratic Forum (MDF) parliamentary group, and Defense Minister Lajos Fur by Edit Schranz after a meeting of the MDF National Board and parliamentary group in Budapest on 13 December—recorded]

[Text] At their joint session yesterday which stretched late into the night, the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] National Board and parliamentary group chose Interior Minister Peter Boross as the prime minister-designate. After the consultation Edit Schrantz spoke to him first:

[Schranz] Did you expect this result, or is this what you thought would happen?

[Boross] I did not have any particular expectations. I left it entirely up to the membership. I was not led in this direction by any particular ambitions. Naturally, I accepted the contest, but if they had not voted for me, that would have caused me no problem at all.

[Schranz] Do you think that the party chairman and prime minister should continue to be one and the same person? In other words, would it be a good thing for the MDF if these two posts continue to remain linked?

[Boross] It is not so simple for me to answer this right now, but I must say—because this question comes up again and again—that I do not wish to hold the post of party chairman.

[Schranz] Why not?

[Boross] Because when the MDF as a party was born, excellent people acted as midwife at its birth, and they are the founders—let me put it this way: the founding fathers. It is my conviction that the office of party chairman is their due.

[Schranz] Does this mean, for example, that the MDF chairman could emerge from among those who are now running alongside you for the post of prime minister designate?

[Boross] Well, if I can put down my vote in advance, then I can say that I would vote for one of them—or will vote, if this comes up at the February session.

[Schranz] If parliament also accepts you, what changes are you planning, or are you planning any government changes at all? Have you perhaps given any thought as to who could be the interior minister in that case?

[Boross] I believe that anyone who recognizes that public life in this country needs stability, that person cannot plan larger-scale changes. As for who will be the interior minister—this is an important post and my view is that I will have to discuss it with the party I represent. We will have to reach an understanding with the coalition partners as well, who—and this makes me glad—have unanimously supported me in this nomination.

[Schranz] Imre Konya, leader of the MDF parliamentary group, how close was the contest? How do you see it?

[Konya] It was a real contest, and in this race Peter Boross came first. But the decision was reached by a secret vote in several rounds. So, it is unambiguous that it was not a foregone conclusion but a real contest.

[Schranz] Peter Boross mentioned just now that he does not wish to be chairman of the MDF, so it is certain he will not put himself forward. Because his view is, he said, that the MDF chairman must emerge from among the MDF's founding members. How do you see this?

[Konya] The decision falls within the competence of the national conference; the national conference will be in February. Peter Boross did indeed say this, and if he does not wish to put himself forward then that is certainly how it will be. It is not a law that the party chairman and prime minister should be one and the same person. The personality of Jozsef Antall was so undisputed in the MDF that his party chairmanship argued in favor of his prime ministership, or the other way round, if you like. But this is not a law in the case of any party.

[Schranz] [Defense Minister] Lajos Fur, I don't know if you reckoned that perhaps you might after all be the winner?

[Fur] No, not for one minute. This is how it turned out. It is good this way. It was a very normal, clean, really, really democratic contest, which means that in these kinds of cases someone comes first, second, and third—if there are three of them.

Coalition Members Agree on Continued Cooperation

LD1312155693 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1500 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Before the National Assembly session early this afternoon, the government coalition parties held a closed, joint session of the parliamentary groups of deputies and confirmed that they will continue their cooperation in the future. Peter Gyuricza reports:

[Gyuricza] At the joint session of the deputies groups from the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF], the Christian Democratic People's Party, and the 36-member group of the Independent Smallholders, Imre Konya, head of the [MDF] deputies group, praised the activity of the deceased prime minister, Jozsef Antall, and spoke about a resolute continuation. He then outlined the constitutional situation, MDF deputies group spokesman Attila Zsigmond told me. At the closed session the heads of the deputies groups from the other two parties assured the MDF and the government of their continued support. The 36-member group of the Smallholders adopted a political statement, and they read this out at the joint session. In it they state: As members of the hitherto coalition, in the remaining months until the National Assembly elections they will continue to accept parliamentary and government responsibility arising from this. That's the quote.

Concrete proposals were not made at the meeting of the deputies groups, but as Attila Zsigmond said: Although it is the business of the MDF to nominate a prime minister, the coalition partners will immediately be informed about this, and then there will be further consultations.

Attila Zsigmond said that this would not happen today or tomorrow. He said that there is no chance whatsoever of the National Assembly choosing a prime minister as early as this week.

KDNP To Support Nominee

LD1312192993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Csaba Belenessi reports on the news briefing of the Christian Democratic Party [KDNP] in Pecs which focused on nominating a prime minister.

[Belenessi] The KDNP, complying with its coalition duty, will support the nomination of the Hungarian Democratic Forum [MDF] for prime minister by all means, should the person be a member of the Lezsak-Boross or the Ivan Szabo-Tamas Szabo trend, Dr. Miklos Hasznos said at a news briefing in Pecs. According to the deputy chairman of the KDNP, it is necessary to maintain stability and continuity, because early elections would benefit anarchist political forces that like fishing in murky waters, making use of a so-called ex-lex, that is extra-legal situation. [passage omitted]

FIDESZ Wants Assembly To Fulfill Term

AU1312142693 Budapest MTI in English 1250 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 December (MTI)—The parliamentary group of the Federation of Young Democrats [FIDESZ] want a new government to be formed as soon as possible, and the present parliament to fulfill its term, to May 1994. Young democrats seek to use their limited influence to this effect, FIDESZ Parliamentary Group Leader Laszlo Kover told MTI today.

Kover, speaking after today's FIDESZ meeting, said it would be best if, due to mourning for Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, parliament postponed the Monday-afternoon [13 December] plenary session.

Kover said it would be useful if the Hungarian Democratic Forum selected its candidate for prime minister as soon as possible, so that President Arpad Goncz can give the candidate commission to form the new government.

National Day of Mourning Called For 18 Dec

LD1312144993 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 1409 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] [Unidentified correspondent] I have just been informed that the funeral of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall will be on Saturday, 18 December. A National Assembly draft resolution has been submitted proclaiming this day a national day of mourning.

The resolution asks the country's citizens and organizations to pay their respects to the memory of the deceased premier on this national day of mourning. It also asks local self-governments to take measures, within their own jurisdiction, so that places of musical entertainment restrict their activity on the national day of mourning. This is a draft resolution, but perhaps I am not mistaken if I suppose this will be accepted without detailed debate.

Papers, Parties Eulogize Prime Minister Antall

AU1312134593 Budapest MTI in English 0824 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 Dec (MTI)—Hungarian papers on Monday give front-page coverage to the death of Prime Minister Jozsef Antall, carrying his photo and evaluating his career. They also publish addresses by Acting Prime Minister Peter Boross and President Arpad Goncz, broadcast live on television Sunday night, and a communique on Sunday evening's unscheduled cabinet session. The papers carry international response to Antall's death as well.

The daily UJ MAGYARORSZAG speaks about Antall's family background, saying Antall was a democrat, who had consciously prepared for political work. It was commitment to the nation, readiness to serve, honesty and vocation that led his father to politics as well.

"Antall knew from his historical experience that a real democracy can exist only in a fully sovereign country. As the most significant phases of his political work, he used to mention the dismantling of COMECON and of the Warsaw Pact, the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Hungary... The two-pole world ceased to exist when the last Soviet soldier left our country," the daily says. UJ MAGYARORSZAG goes on to praise Antall's efforts to halt the disastrous deterioration of Hungary's economy. "In the meantime, the government had no break: The opposition has been unable to admit that it had suffered a defeat in the elections. It has launched repeated action against the government to discredit Hungary abroad, although it has never offered a real alternative.

"To make the struggle even more difficult, discord has appeared in the Hungarian Democratic Forum as well... It was again the party chairman, the prime minister who had to stand his ground. It proved Antall's sound political judgement and human greatness that he was able to rise over party interests and subordinate them to the country's interests. All this happened in an environment where governments do not usually stay in office long. Political stability can only be ensured by the centrist idea linked to Antall's name in the largest governing party. It is a moderate, authentic centre- right government that can serve the country's interests, and this is the worthiest to Antall, a Christian democrat of international reputation... Fight and struggle, unsparing labour and humble service were his share over the past four years," UJ MAGYARORSZAG says.

Evaluating Antall's career, the daily NEPSZABADSAG says, "Jozsef Antall was a calculable politician about whom everyone could be sure: he will consistently observe the law... Antall really wanted to think and act in terms of the nation. He wanted a happy nation and a flourishing European country. He was able to resolve the dilemma of national value-European value. It must have been all the more tragic for him that he was able to do that only within his own personality... He was justly proud of the fact that while he was prime minister, Hungary had a stable government exemplary in the region. This stability, the stability of the trainee parliament and the trainee government, was valued higher by the international public than the general public at home. We here felt its relativity.

"We have to think it over what did not happen during his term. The economy did not collapse. Inflation did not get out of control and the country's foreign trade ties did not cease. These are values even if we are suffering from an economic crisis harder than necessary, even if we are witnessing signs of empoverishment. It has to be noted, however, that passions did not get to the streets during Antall's term. His moderate attitude also played a role in that constitutionality and human dignity have not been fundamentally violated in our country... Antall was for a European Hungary, he sought integration into Western European organizations.

"He was probably hurt by the fact his statement according to which, in spirit, he wanted to be the prime minister of 15 million Hungarians, was misunderstood, deliberately or not, by many. He knew that borders in Europe are stable, and he knew that Hungarians beyond the borders need the democratic government of Hungary to undertake representing them spiritually. Unlike some others, Antall did not have irredentist dreams," NEPSZABADSAG says.

In an article, praising Antall's work as prime minister, the daily MAGYAR NEMZET speaks about the Hungarian Government's foreign policy:

"When the government took office, it declared European-Atlantic orientation and the intention to join European organizations as its goals. The government's work was successful. Hungary has become a member of the Council of Europe, the European Parliament, and concluded association accords with the European Community.

"At the same time, Hungary was informed that joining the EC and, later the European Union, is not realistic before the turn of the century. To stabilize the country,s security, along with Poland and the Czech Republic, Hungary also asked for NATO to be expanded to the new democratic states of East-Central Europe. However, due to Russia's firm objection and conflicts within NATO, this cannot be expected in the near future either, although the United States proposed to establish partnership relations. Except for these issues, requiring superpower decisions, the foreign policy of Antall's government successfully solved the main tasks: changing the country's international position and linking the country to the West, while trying to build its relationship with Russia, Ukraine and other Commonwealth of Independent States members on a new basis."

In an article, the daily PESTI HIRLAP stressed Antall's role in restoring the Hungarian nation's self-esteem.

"Prime Minister Jozsef Antall took over governing a sovereign country freed from red rule with preparedness, care, elegance and a perfect professional knowledge. From the first moment, he was extremely sensitive to the most important thing: that the Hungarian nation had lost its healthy sense of orientation... He was a historian, but also a sensitive and attentive person who understood that for the Hungarian nation, self-surrender and self-hatred pose a greater danger than the destruction by Bolshevik terror... His extreme preparedness brought him to the top of the Hungarian Democratic Forum, where he made history. He knew that a nation which is adrift between self-pity and self-hatred can be driven into a trap by any self-made messiah offering it reparation. It is easy to drive a nation from self-hatred to hating others. Antall understood that a row of humiliated nations exist in this tortured region of Eastern and Central Europe, and these humiliations may lead to internal wars—as they already have. For Hungary, Antall saw only one path: To create and operate once destroyed democratic institutions with minute perfection," PESTI HIRLAP says.

The daily KURIR speaks about the progressive traditions of Antall's family:

"Antall was directed towards a political career by both family traditions and personal interest. It is not by chance that there is a memorial plaque dedicated to his late father, Jozsef Antall Sr., in Jerusalem's Yad Vashem Park, among the olive trees of the heroes who fought against nazi terror and holocaust.

"Many have accused antall of Horthyism, of wanting to revive the politics of that era. This, however, was a false accusation. The prime minister did not want to reconstruct the pre-1945 regime. It is useful to note that, for a person with an inclination for history, symbols mean a lot. Already at the time of the voting on coats of arms, i.e., when the Kossuth coat of arms, embodying revolutionary traditions, was voted down, we might have had the feeling that Antall was a man whose nature was far from being revolutionary or even thoroughly reformist. Also, Antall was unprepared for the frightful pace of change, even though he came from a family of politicians. Making many good decisions in a short time in this impatient, anxious and weary country: These were the 'only' requirements.

"Considering his reactions, Antall's ideal must have been the German Christian democracy represented by Chancellor Kohl. He saw our chief patron in Germany, whose political intellectuals are sensitive of minority problems, partly because of ethnic Germans living here and emigrating from Central Europe," KURIR says.

Socialist Party Statement

AU1412081693 Budapest MTI in English 1526 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 December (MTI)—"Jozsef Antall had a big part in political changes that led to the new democratic institutions. He strove to curb radicalism within his party and the ruling coalition: He acted as a balancing factor," went opposition Hungarian Socialist Party's [MSZP] statement in Budapest on Monday [13 December].

"The prime minister always stressed his commitment to parliamentary democracy. We trust his successors will keep this tradition," the document says.

"Hungary has a crucial interest in reaching parliamentary elections next spring undisturbed. Accordingly, all democratic forces are interested in the country's situation not deteriorating until then. The government faces special responsibility in maintaining stability. The socialists believe the government and the parliamentary parties should show self-restraint and find possibilities for constructive dialogue and cooperation."

Free Democrats Statement

AU1412075593 Budapest MTI in English 1853 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 13 December (MTI)—Hungary's main opposition party, the Alliance of Free Democrats [SZDSZ], on Monday [13 December] published a statement saying that the Free Democrats held in high esteem the deceased prime minister as a political foe, a politician taking on ambitious tasks, and a man braving an unconquerable disease.

The document, signed by Party President Ivan Peto and Parliamentary Group Leader Gabor Kuncze, was adopted at today's joint session of SZDSZ deputies and leaders.

"Jozsef Antall had a major role in bringing about Hungarian democracy. We can foster his memory by striving to preserve it. The SZDSZ expresses its sincere sympathy to the family of the deceased prime minister and the Hungarian Democratic Forum."

Jeszenszky Rejects Slovak Deportation Proposal

LD1312111593 Budapest Kossuth Radio Network in Hungarian 0600 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Geza Jeszenszky, speaking at press briefing in Miskolc on the Hungarian-Slovak deportation agreement, said that the Slovaks are making the opening of new border-crossing points conditional on there being a version of the deportation agreement which is more favorable to them. Hungary cannot accept this proposal because in such a case it would become a receiving country for all those who cross the border illegally from Slovakia and Romania, the foreign minister said.

Socialist Party Completes Electoral Program

AU1312171293 Budapest MTI in English 1931 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Budapest, 11 December (MTI)—The electoral program of the opposition Hungarian Socialist Party (MSZP) has been essentially completed, MSZP Board President Ivan Vitanyi announced at a press conference after the party's national board meeting on Saturday [11 December]. He added that the professional chapters will be finalized in the second half of January and approved at a party congress in mid- February.

Vice-President Gyorgy Janosi said the party's aim for the next government cycle (beginning in 1994) was to place privatization on a new footing and lay foundations for a slow economic growth by completing the reform of public finances and harnessing economic reserves.

In social-welfare policy, the MSZP strives to pay more attention to employment policy considerations, stabilize the situation of sliding social layers, and introduce a more proportionate sharing of increased social burdens.

As for foreign and security policy, the party aims to strengthen European integration processes, as well as normalize relations with neighbouring countries, and put these links on new foundations.

Reaction to Russian Election Results Reported

'Potential Danger' Seen

LD1312175793 Warsaw PAP in English 1618 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—Commenting on preliminary results of Sunday's Russian parliamentary elections, Polish politicians stress the potential danger created by a strong showing of ultranationalists. They are also unanimous that the outcome of the elections means a strong presidency in Russia.

Senator Krzysztof Kozlowski of the Democratic Union (UD) said that the results of the elections meant strong fragmentation of the future Russian parliament and would be advantegous for a strong presidency.

The multitude of minor parties and their fragmentation is reminiscent of the situation in Poland, where the largest party achieved only 13 per cent of votes and where it was difficult to ensure stability and form a majority coalition, he observed.

Referring to a strong showing of ultranationalists in the elections, Kozlowski said this meant "a period of many crises and lack of stability in Russia." He added that Yeltsin was the only chance for Russia.

According to leader of the Centre alliance (PC) Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the outcome of the elections gives a strong position to Yeltsin. "However, this is a serious warning as far as the state of political consciousness of Russian society is concerned," he added.

Kaczynski believes that the results of the elections are disadvantageous from the Polish point of view as they may result in Poland's remaining in the Russian sphere of influence.

Leader of the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) Romuald Szeremietiew said that the results of the Russian elections, especially the strong showing of Zhirinovskiy's grouping can be dangerous for Poland from the point of view of its national interests.

According to spokesman for the Democratic Left Alliance (SLD) Zbigniew Siemiatkowski, the results of the elections show the duality of stances of Russian society, which supported populist slogans in the sphere of the economy and a strong power in the sphere of politics. This brought about another political stalemate, he noted.

Another disquieting fact is the strong support given to ultranationalists led by Zhirinovskiy, Siemiatkowski added.

KPN Leader Comments

LD1312211193 Warsaw PAP in English 1738 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—According to leader of the Confederation for an Independent Poland (KPN) Leszek Moczulski, the poor showing in the elections of the ruling party is the defeat of the people currently holding power in Russia. The elections confirm that Yeltsin's "days are numbered."

Walesa Stresses Good Relations

LD1312194293 Warsaw PAP in English 1724 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 13—President Lech Walesa will not comment on the results of Russian general elections until official results are issued, Presidential Spokesman Andrzej Drzycimski said on Monday. According to Drzycimski, the preliminary results can prove to be unreliable.

The spokesman cited a part of Walesa's interview for Hungarian TV granted on Monday in which he said: "Russia is a large country and it is not easy either to run it or reform it. It pays to have good, partner-like relations with the new Russia. (...) based on the principles of freedom, pluralism and democracy."

Sejm's Geremek Comments

LD1312205893 Warsaw TVP Television First Program Network in Polish 1830 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Statement by Bronislaw Geremek, chairman of the Sejm Foreign Affairs Commission, in Warsaw on 13 December—recorded]

[Text] Poland needs democratic Russia. The outcome of these elections shows that democracy in Russia is weak. And that is why this result is bad. But besides that, the following fact is disquieting for Poland: that a party such as Mr. Zhirinovskiy's has done so well in the elections. This is the party which proposes partitioning Poland, the party which proposes that Germany and Russia once again partition Poland. This is dangerous, these are not just specters of history.

Pawlak 'Satisfied' With Elections

LD1312221093 Warsaw PAP in English 2118 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 13—Prime Minister Waldemar Pawlak is satisfied over the fact that Russia held its first democratic parliamentary elections, the press secretary to the prime minister Ewa Wachowicz said on Monday. Asked what the premier thinks of the preliminary results, she said that they reflect the real alignment of forces in Russia.

"We expect that those parties and those forces, which now or in the future will have influence on Russia's foreign policy, will aim to have good neighbourly relations with Poland," Wachowicz observed.

Wachowicz also noted that the results are not final yet and it is difficult to provide a unequivocal commentary. She added that after final results are released the prime minister himself will express his opinion.

Trade Minister Views Need For Subsidies

AU1312094893 Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish 11 Dec 93 p 5

[Interview with Leslaw Podkanski, Polish minister of foreign economic cooperation, by Jerzy Baczynski and Pawel Tarnowski; place and date not given: "Time To Pay Our Bills"]

[Text] [POLITYKA] There is only one thing certain about Polish foreign trade these days—the fact that nothing is certain. Last year, the Main Statistical Office worked out that we have a foreign trade deficit of $2.7 billion, whereas the National Bank of Poland claimed we had a $1.5 billion surplus. This year, the Statistical Office is silent, but the Bank claims that we have a trade deficit of over $2 billion. Who do you believe?

[Podkanski] No one really, because Polish statistics do not reflect all phenomena and trade operations. Nevertheless, the trade deficit is an undeniable and ominous fact. There is no doubt that the size of the deficit is considerable.

[POLITYKA] Why?

[Podkanski] We have created wide access to the Polish market in recent years, but at the same time it has been very difficult to sell our goods in larger quantities. Our economic and trade links with the East have disappeared, and the western countries, the most important ones for us now, are experiencing a recession, and are defending their own producers against foreign competition. That is one of the reasons for the trade deficit. In any case, Poland is not the only country to have a deficit. Other countries in southern and eastern Europe, trying to transform their economies, are also experiencing a recession. In fact, all of them have fallen into the trade deficit trap. That shows how difficult it is to avoid it.

[POLITYKA] Are our foreign partners to blame?

[Podkanski] No. That is merely the way things have developed. Apart from that, we ourselves are not utilizing all our chances.

[POLITYKA] Perhaps the reason is that Polish products are still shoddy, and, in addition, too expensive?

[Podkanski] I do not think that is the basic reason for the current stagnation in exports, but I admit not all of our products are of excellent quality and good value.

[POLITYKA] There was also a recession in the West last year, and our links with the East were severed even earlier. Even so, the National Bank said that we had a trade surplus. Then why, suddenly, do we have such a dramatic deficit?

[Podkanski] The profitability of exports has fallen sharply, while, at the same time, the domestic demand for many products has increased. In the absence of other means of boosting exports, the devaluation of the zloty has been too slow. We can see the effects of this.

[POLITYKA] Many economists believe that the present trade deficit possesses a structural nature. The world demand for the goods that we can sell—mainly raw materials, food, and semi- finished goods—is rising very slowly. In turn, we, who are restructuring our economy, will need many new machines, equipment, and technology. Do you agree that it will not be possible to achieve a positive trade balance in the very near future?

[Podkanski] There is not the slightest doubt that we are condemned to a trade deficit for the next few years. Next year, the deficit will be in the region of $1.4-1.5 billion. Of course we must do everything we can to minimize it. The influx of new technology and new machines for production is essential, but the unrestricted import of consumer goods seems less desirable. Unless we alter the structure of Polish exports quickly, it already seems possible to limit the import of consumer goods.

[POLITYKA] That sounds ominous. How would you do that?

[Podkanski] I think Poland's market has been too open until now, and has not made use of various routine ways of restricting imports that are used in the West. We want to do what our western partners are doing, while, of course, respecting our international commitments. The level of protection offered to our market is meant to be more or less the same as in the countries of the European Union. However, there is no need to fear a drastic increase in protectionism and state interventionism, which the government coalition is suspected of wanting.

[POLITYKA] There is good reason to harbor such a suspicion. After the elections, a Polish Peasant Party expert said that imports of consumer goods have to be cut by $3 billion, out of a total of $5.5 billion. Such a suggestion naturally caused alarm.

[Podkanski] That was an unrealistic suggestion. We want to examine the situation and only intervene where necessary, depending on how the situation develops. It is too early to decide how much to reduce exports.

[POLITYKA] By protecting Polish producers, you will indirectly strike at the consumers of various products. The range of goods on the market will diminish, and prices will rise.

[Podkanski] That is why everything must be done with moderation. But tell me, how is a Polish farmer supposed to compete with a French producer, who first receives subsidies for production, and later receives extra payments for exports? He can never hope to compete. It is no use swimming against the tide. The Hungarians have understood this. They have introduced 15-30 percent subsidies toward the export of many food items. I doubt whether Poland can afford that, but it is essential to help Polish exporters in some way.

[POLITYKA] Do you have a list of producers whom you want to help?

[Podkanski] No. Priorities in this regard are to be set by the agriculture minister, on the basis of market developments. All I will say for the time being is that if necessary, we will apply protection measures that have been successfully applied in other countries for years.

[POLITYKA] Such as?

[Podkanski] Equalizing payments, minimum prices, various rules governing hygiene and quality, quotas, and anti-dumping procedures. All this sounds ominous when uttered all in one go, but these are merely protection measures that will be applied depending on the country's needs and possibilities.

[POLITYKA] There is another way to achieve a trade balance—by increasing Polish exports as much as possible. Your predecessor, Andrzej Arendarski, prepared an extensive program to promote exports, but there was not enough money in the budget to finance it. But Arendarski is a liberal, and his party lost the elections. Will his proposals be consigned to the trash heap?

[Podkanski] That was not a political document, but a cohesive and professionally-produced program for promoting exports. I was employed in the Ministry while it was being drawn up, so I can be considered as a joint author thereof. I will certainly not discard it, because no rational person throws away his trump cards. I will use the program as a basis for future actions regarding the promotion of exports. Minister Arendarski did not have the time and money to implement the program. I do have the time, and will obtain the money.

[POLITYKA] At a recent Council of Ministers session, the financial needs of all the ministers were added together, and they amounted to 100 trillion zlotys more than the state can afford. With this avalanche of requirements and unestablished priorities, do you think the program will remain in existence?

[Podkanski] Despite your fears, the priorities are clear. This government is going to promote exports and pursue a pro- investment and pro-export policy. The funds for this must be set aside out of next year's budget. This is very important to me, and, I think, for many other members of the government. If things happen otherwise, I will simply resign.

[POLITYKA] What size funds are we talking about?

[Podkanski] A large amount. Some 3 to 4 trillion zlotys will have to be set aside next year to promote exports. It need not be all in cash. In some cases, government guarantees will be sufficient, i.e. an undertaking by the government that the state will bear part of the costs if the program fails. One way or another, this is an enormous increase.

[POLITYKA] Do your colleagues agree with your plan to increase expenditures?

[Podkanski] Yes. No one has made any adverse remarks.

[POLITYKA] Is that sufficient to implement the entire program of promoting exports?

[Podkanski] According to estimates, some 9 to 10 trillion zlotys are required for the program, which means that the program will have to be spread out over several years. One cannot expect it to have immediate effects, but without it, the situation of exporters will only get worse, and quickly.

[POLITYKA] What is the first thing that should be done to boost the sales of Polish goods?

[Podkanski] There is no single panacea. The first thing to do is review Polish customs tariffs. Certainly some changes will be made here. There is also going to be a cohesive and financially stable system of credits, state guarantees, and insurance for export transactions. Our tax system must also be changed for the benefit of exporters. Polish trade facilities abroad require modernization and improvement. They must cooperate with our diplomatic facilities better. The situation in this regard is not the best.

[POLITYKA] What do you think of the suggestion to make our economic and trade missions independent of the state administration?

[Podkanski] Our legal system does not permit such a separation at present, and this is also a question of money. But I think it is a sound idea. I would like our trade missions to operate on a commercial basis, at least partly, and provide services in return for payment. One way or another, the state should be less involved in this sphere.

[POLITYKA] You advocate the reestablishment of Polish trade with the East. According to the prime minister's Sejm expose, he seems to support the idea. How will you start?

[Podkanski] I think we should examine all the possibilities of reentering lost markets, not just in the East. Together with the Foreign Ministry, we will perform a survey of the possibility of reentering lost markets and winning new ones. As far as exporters of goods to the East are concerned, they must have adequate help from the state in view of the fact that the economic and political situation in the East is unstable and there is no convertible currency and developed banking and insurance system, and inflation is rampant. We are not just concerned with intergovernmental talks and decisions, which often remain on paper and are never implemented. More effective these days are close contacts between individual regions, and even cities and factories. Once again it is worth taking a look at Hungary, which is performing this kind of cooperation. We will follow suit. The fact that this is a difficult matter is best illustrated by Finland's proposal to commence joint economic actions in CIS countries. The Finns also have problems, and yet they are experts in trade with Russia.

[POLITYKA] Do you think separate banks, insurance companies, and economic chambers will have to be formed for trade with the East?

[Podkanski] The nature of trade with the countries of the former Soviet Union is such that specialized institutions are necessary for this purpose, at least for the time being. The process of setting up such institutions has already begun. I discussed this during my recent trip to Moscow.

[POLITYKA] What are your priorities in trade policy?

[Podkanski] The integration of the Polish economy with the European Union, the search for new markets, and the expansion of trade with the East. With these three pillars in place, there is hope that the whole edifice will not collapse.

PSL's Charzewski on Party Policy, Credo

PM1312105193 Lodz GLOS PORANNY in Polish 27-28 Nov 93 p 3

[Interview with Andrzej Charzewski, Polish Peasant Party (PSL) Supreme Board member and deputy chairman of the Skierniewice Voivodship PSL Board, by correspondent Daniel Jablonski; date, place not given]

[Text] [Jablonski] Never before in our history had a peasant party won as many seats in the Sejm and the Senate as the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] did in the last election. However, because of the configuration of forces in parliament the PSL members' joy is somewhat subdued, especially as voices have been heard already claiming that the present situation is a "duplication" of that which occurred prior to 1989. In your opinion, will the PSL's coalition with the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] contribute to a reinforcement of the former's position in Poland's political life?

[Charzewski] The result of the parliamentary election was to some extent a surprise both to the winners and to the losers. However, after a sober analysis of what happened on 19 September we find that we should pay tribute to the common sense and good judgment demonstrated by our society. The election of 1989, which brought Solidarity an overwhelming mass vote, was the result of the correct assessment that the camp then in power would not—despite its best attempts—prove capable of reforming the foundations of our economy and our political system, and that that task should be entrusted to someone else. It was a similar situation during the last election. Society decided that none of the post-Solidarity forces would be able to effect a fundamental correction of the "sharp shocks" reform course which we followed over the past four years. Consequently, that chance was offered to another group.

[Jablonski] For a long time—which included the period of the election campaign—the PSL actively opposed the policy mapped out by Leszek Balcerowicz and realized by successive Solidarity teams. In your opinion, does the program outlined in Premier Waldemar Pawlak's inaugural policy statement predict a departure from the direction outlined by the aforementioned economic expert?

[Charzewski] If we adopt the term "realization of the Balcerowicz Plan" as referring to everything that our successive governments have done in the political and economic fields to date, we will be making an unwarranted simplification. If we agree that the Balcerowicz Plan entailed an institutional transformation involving the transition to the market economy system, we should conclude that that direction was basically correct and that it was never called into question by the PSL. Nor have I found any indication of an intention to depart from it in Premier Pawlak's inaugural policy statement.

During the election campaign firm criticism was leveled at some methods of reaching the proposed economic goals. This was because it became apparent that the social costs of the economic transformation are spread out in a very uneven pattern. The number of unemployed is growing and poverty is becoming more widespread, while at the same time huge fortunes are being amassed—often by dishonest means. It has not been possible to close a number of gaps and loopholes in our legislation, taxes and tariffs are not collected efficiently, while fraudsters, embezzlers, and large-scale racketeers are not being brought to account for their activities.

Premier Pawlak has stressed in his expose that Poland needs reforms. However, these reforms must be brought in with the people and they must work for the people.

[Jablonski] The ministerial nominations received by some SLD activists caused considerable displeasure in the PSL. Leszek Miller seems to attract particularly strong emotions in this way as a public figure...

[Charzewski] I believe that we look back to the past too often in our analyses and critical assessments, and in this way we have become accustomed to "pigeonholing" and categorizing certain people far too readily. Surely the time has come to get rid of our biased views and reservations and begin to base our assessments of public figures on the evidence of what they do now.

[Jablonski] It has been noted recently that the PSL is developing closer contacts with the Catholic church. Does this indicate, among other things, that your party intends to "stand in," as it were, as substitute for the Christian National Union in the parliamentary forum?

[Charzewski] The PSL ideology is to a large extent inspired by the Christian ethic and by the social doctrine of the Catholic church. As a group, the PSL members are predominantly Catholic. However, I would venture to say that, in contrast to the situation in certain right-wing parties, you would find many more Christian values in the heads and hearts of PSL members than you would see emblazoned on their banners. Perhaps that is why the present increase in the incidence of official contacts

between PSL leaders and members of the Polish Episcopate is perceived in parliament in the new political situation as a sudden change of orientation toward the church. However that may be, it is certainly true that the present situation has produced a favorable climate for cooperation between the two sides.

[Jablonski] You have been head of the Skierniewice municipal PSL organization for several years now. What should be done to attract more young people to your ranks and to do away with the image of the PSL as a group identified predominantly with a particular social class—that is, the peasants?

[Charzewski] The PSL's roots are in rural communities, and that is why its natural tendency is to gravitate in that direction. I believe that we can expect an eventual reorientation of our party in the direction of a farmers' party with a nationwide character, fashioned on existing examples of farmers' parties in the West. However, this requires time.

The shortage of young people joining the PSL is a separate problem. This question is rooted in broader social problems. We observe a general and widespread unwillingness of young people to become involved in political activities. In this situation straightforward recruitment and propaganda tactics could bring results opposite to those that were intended. Consequently, we should seek different solutions and meet young people's expectations and interest in other ways. [passage omitted]

Coalition To Have Representation in Ministries

LD1112131093 Warsaw Radio Warszawa Network in Polish 1200 GMT 11 Dec 93

[Text] Aleksander Kwasniewski, leader of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SDRP is a member of the Democratic Left Alliance, Kwasniewski is also the SLD leader], said at Saturday's meeting of the SDRP Main Council that the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] will have one representative each in three presidential ministries: the Foreign Affairs Ministry, the Internal Affairs Ministry, and the National Defense Ministry.

He added that this matter was agreed with the leadership of those ministries, and that negotiations between the [government] coalition, ministers, and the president will start next week. Kwasniewski did not reveal the names of three candidates put forward by the SLD for the posts of deputy ministers. The SDRP leader stressed in his speech that the SLD-PSL coalition was the only possible political solution at this stage. He added that this was a difficult coalition that had to cope with different opinions on various matters.

KLD's Tusk on Unification with UD

WS1312154593 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 11-12 Dec 93 p 3

[Interview with Liberal-Democratic Congress Chairman Donald Tusk by Aleksandra Fandrejewska: "We Will Be Doing It With A Little Hangover;" place and date not given]

[Text] [Fandrejewska] Have you met any person who is dissatisfied that they voted for the Liberal-Democratic Congress [KLD] now that the grouping that they identify themselves with will cease to exist?

[Tusk] Yes, I have, but I do not hear such opinions very often. In Gdansk, where people easily recognize me, people come up to me and most of them say: Well, now, at last I will not have a dilemma. Many people supported the idea of KLD's unification with the Democratic Union [UD] before the elections. Politicians made a major mistake. We did not respond to the people's order. The members of both parties are often rather hesitant; however, voters do not have any doubts.

[Fandrejewska] Why do you think there is such an "order"? If people voted for KLD, it means that they identified themselves with it, does it not?

[Tusk] A few dozen parties ran in the elections and each of them received some votes. Each political grouping can count on the sympathy of a fraction of the electorate. Opinion polls before the elections showed that UD would come in second in the elections and KLD would receive approximately 4 percent. When I hear that someone has doubts, I suggest that he look at the issue from a five- or eight-year perspective. I hope that those politicians who manage to sort out the political scene so that people will have less difficulty deciding whom to support, will be praised. The political drama in Poland lies in the following problem: for 40 years the people in Poland could only choose collaboration, contestation, or inactivity. For a few years they have been in a whirlpool that is intolerable even to a liberal (who likes considerable maneuverability). A certain price is worth paying: a certain price has to be paid for the unification of parties. As a result, people in Poland will have an easier life. I think that the process of unification and the creation of new parties is very natural. This anxiety, which is shared by everyone, should be treated like chicken pox. We will be doing all this with a little hangover.

[Fandrejewska] Maybe it should be so that this "fraction of the electorate," as you have said, should be gathered in one grouping and it should try to build a strong position for the party?

[Tusk] One thing does not exclude the other. When we draw the line of the compromise among political organizations, we do not have to make a compromise with our own political convictions or with our political ego. I am not convinced that I will sacrifice a piece of my soul to the process of unification and that I will cease to be a

liberal, to a certain degree. I think that the important thing is that the 50,000 people who voted for KLD in Gdansk feel that they can still support the same persons—because they have the same opinions, but in a broader organization. In fact, it is an attempt to take a belated step, which will allow many people who have only slightly different views choose one list with Tusk, Borusewicz, Krzyzanowska. I am now talking only about Gdansk.

[Fandrejewska] You will tell skeptics, thus, that they should wait and see?

[Tusk] Skepticism may sometimes turn into complexes. Therefore, I am telling them: Do not look at this unification from the position of complexes. If you think that there is a clear conflict of ideas or identities, then try to find a norm of political aims. Also, let us look for a chance inside this configuration. There is no reason why one liberal should not persuade others to support this idea of unity. I know perfectly well to what extent the opinions of UD are liberal and to what extent they have been influenced by the market economy.

[Fandrejewska] Now, when I am asking you about skeptics, then I do not mean those who are against creating a party jointly with UD; I am asking you about those who do not want KLD to disappear.

[Tusk] Every bridegroom gives a bachelor's party and drinks vodka; then he goes to his mother and tells her that the time that he has valued so much is coming to an end. However, everyone must make a decision. We refer to KLD as a political organization; let us, then, say something not about the sentiments, but about political efficiency. We should look for a manner of modelling the political scene which would make the liberals more efficient. I suggest that the real liberals (there are not many of them, even in KLD) perceive the party as an instrument with which to achieve political and economic aims. I am saying all this without any fear, because I think that I have the greatest right to feel sentimentally linked with KLD. Two years ago I was elected the party's chairman; I said then that I love KLD and that was my credo. Everyone must suppress his sorrow. We may differ in our intuitional opinions whether or not our voters wish that...

[Fandrejewska] Still, they are disappointed?

[Tusk] Some of them will feel disappointed and the arithmetic should decide this. I am convinced, however, that an overwhelming majority will greet the decision on unification with satisfaction. I am sure they will feel some kind of a relief: at last we will not have to run the risk of giving our votes to a party that may not enter the parliament. The possible sorrow that KLD as such will disappear from the political scene is incomparably smaller than the sorrow of all KLD voters who have wasted their votes.

[Fandrejewska] Do you think that they get this impression?

[Tusk] I feel sad and I suppose that everyone else feels the same way, because so many votes were wasted. I am not saying that people are ashamed of what they supported; they simply feel that this was to no avail. When I meet people on the street, they say: Mr. Donald, I cast my vote, and what happened?

[Fandrejewska] This is a repetition, as it were, of one of the election slogans of one party.

[Tusk] Now, you cannot say that there were people who voted for us, even though they were not convinced that we will not enter the parliament. These are not people who are simply in love with Bielecki, Tusk, or the sun...

[Fandrejewska] Maybe they are in love with the idea, then?

[Tusk] The electorate of KLD are rather mature people, regardless of their age. They did not vote for any ideas; they supported people—we know that the people will do something and have done something in Poland...

[Fandrejewska] You think that people voted for your people, not your program?

[Tusk] This is how it happens: I am casting my vote and this vote should influence the future of Poland in a micro scale. This is why I am voting. I am not doing this to demonstrate anything. Anyway, I am alone in the voting booth and it would not be a very heroic demonstration before myself: I am supporting KLD, even though I know that it will not change anything. A political party is, in a sense, a company that manufactures some goods; these goods must be bought—otherwise, the company goes bankrupt. This is when the laws of the market come into play. If we want to be active in politics, not in journalism, then we must definitely be oriented toward majority, not minority, groups. People establish political parties to win elections, not to preserve their identities. I feel guilty toward those who voted for me, because if I lost—they lost as well. No-one likes this; especially, no-one likes repeating a defeat.

Szeremietiew Elected RDR Leader

LD1212210993 Warsaw PAP in English 2010 GMT 12 Dec 93

[Text] Warsaw, Dec. 12—Romuald Szeremietiew was elected leader of the Movement for the Republic of Poland (RDR) at the party congress on Sunday.

In a ballot, Szeremietiew received 106 votes, six more than the hitherto RDR leader Jan Olszewski, who—along with a group of delegates—left the debate hall after the ballot results were announced. Szeremietiew labeled the situation as an "earthquake in the RDR."

The debate was held non-stop from Saturday afternoon until Sunday morning. Opening the debate Jan Olszewski put forward conditions under which the RDR could join a coalition of other centre-right parties. He said that

it is indispensable to univocally assess the post-communist system as a number one enemy of the centre-right, to reject cooperation with President Lech Walesa and to retain the vetting postulate.

However, the delegates pronounced themselves in favour of Romuald Szeremietiew who is perceived as the advocate of cooperation with the Belvedere and has a different concept of leading the party.

The new leader announced that he would transform the party into "an effectively managed grouping that is to become a substantial element of the right side of the Polish political scene."

Wojciech Wlodarczyk, former secretary of the RDR Main Political Council who left the congress along with Olszewski, said that the Olszewski's walk out means that he resigns from the party membership. He added that this fact cannot be perceived as a split in the party because the Szeremietiew's RDR is condemned to cooperate with other centre-right groupings that failed to adopt a univocal attitude towards the Belvedere and left-wing parties.

Szeremietiew told journalists on Sunday that the RDR should first draw conclusions from the defeat in the September 19 parliamentary elections and than make a self-assessment. "Like the majority of the centre-right groupings, the RDR is to be blamed for the defeat in the elections," he added.

The delegates adopted resolutions in which they negatively assess the activity of the present government terming it as the re- communization of Polish economy and other spheres of life and pronounced themselves in favour of cooperation with other centre- right groupings, Zbigniew Farmus from the RDR Press Bureau said.

The delegates also elected the Main Political Council, the Main Auditing Commission, Supreme Court and adopted the party statutes.

The RDR was set up after the June 4, 1992 collapse of the Jan Olszewski government. In the previous tenure Sejm, the RDR parliamentary floor group had 17 deputies and four senators. As a party it was registered in December 1992. In February 1993 Romuald Szeremietiew with his Freedom Party joined the grouping.

Social Democracy Holds Session, Outlines Policy

WS1312120093 Warsaw RZECZPOSPOLITA in Polish 13 Dec 93 pp 1, 2

[Report by Ewa Kaszuba: "SdRP—Old and New Problems; Constitution, Voivodes, and Presidential Ministries"]

[Text] **"Even before the end of this week, the coalition parties' willingness to introduce a candidate both for the Polish Peasant Party [PSL] and the Democratic Left Alliance [SLD] into the leaderships of the so-called presidential ministries, will be debated among all concerned," Aleksander Kwasniewski, chairman of the Social Democracy of the Polish Republic [SdRP] told members of the SdRP Chief Council. As to who will take what post—that will be the subject of negotiations with the president, but there is unofficial talk of Jerzy Szmajdzinski's candidacy for a deputy minister at the Internal Affairs Ministry, and of Zbigniew Sobotko for a deputy minister at the Defense Ministry.**

SdRP's chairman admitted during the plenary session of the party's Chief Council that in every "democratic kind of system" there is a "staff transformation of the central administration" after as radical a change of "political orientation" as the one that occurred in Poland on 19 September. That is why, after appointments of chiefs of ministries, there is a process of "forming the government's basis" taking place currently, that is to say a "natural process of replacement" during which the coalition parties "like to avoid dismissals of a political nature." The posts of voivodes must also be submitted to those rigorous criteria.

"Since SdRP and PSL had reservations in the past concerning the performance of some of those officials, we must now have personnel changes take place, or a change in views on their performance," Kwasniewski said.

According to an unwritten agreement between the coalition members, the initiative concerning replacement of voivodes will belong to the party that won the elections in a given voivodship, but that does not mean that the new voivodes must necessarily be members of the particular party. Professional competence, possibilities of gaining support from local communities and of a friendly attitude by the mass media, will all be taken into account. The scope of the intended changes has not been defined as yet; Kwasniewski just said that they cannot amount to sweeping measures.

According to SdRP's chairman, work on a new constitution will conclude before the end of 1994, followed by a referendum in the spring of 1995. On the topic of a possible early partial referendum, Kwasniewski said it should take place but on the condition of giving up the requirement of a 50-percent turn out, since that could halt work on the constitutional draft.

Questions for Left Wing

During Saturday's [11 December] session of SdRP's authorities, the party chairman stressed the need for a radical change in thinking about SdRP's role as one of the ruling parties.

The political goal should be to strengthen the parliamentary system, the constitutional system, and the rule of law in Poland, while the economic goal should be to stabilize the market economy and the state's finances, as well as to increase the citizens' living standard. At the beginning of the debate (whose culmination will be in the form of a yearly convention scheduled for 16 April of

next year), Kwasniewski presented a list of several questions that the left wing will have to respond to. Among them are the following: How should a left-wing party combine the state's economic policy with a policy of social protection? How does one meet the people's expectations in terms of social issues and living standards while at the same time not leading to economic instability? To what extent should a left-wing party in power implement its own ideas versus fulfilling the expectations of those who did not vote for it? How does such a party arrange its relationships with other left-wing parties, including some post- "Solidarity" ones? How does a left-wing party defend itself against pressure from some people who after the election victory opportunistically confess to their associations with the left wing? Finally, how does a left-wing party gain a friendly attitude by the mass media, so as to make its policies clear to the wide audience?

Leszek Miller's Assets, Liabilities, and Advice

While trying to assess the left wing's situation after the elections, Leszek Miller (Labor Minister and SdRP's Deputy Chairman) said that the left wing's assets include social confidence that is still big currently ("if the elections were held yesterday, the results would be similar"), the calm foreign response to the election results, the continuing defeat shock in the camp of political opponents, and a huge turn to the left of big social groups.

The left wing's negative sides ("liabilities") include: Lack of a clear economic and social program, continuous stressing that the coalition favors continuation first and change second (and not the other way around), tension existing both within the coalition and SLD itself, problems in trying to overcome the mass media's unfriendly attitude, as well as social disappointment about the fact that there are no immediate results of the change in government.

If Leszek Miller was in the opposition now, he would not be very eager to force the governing team to leave office before two years are over, that is before people begin to regard the government as completely accountable for ruling the country. He would shift the main focus of the fight to presidential elections, which would be conducted in a scheme of diametrically opposed forces—one candidate for the left wing, and one for a united right wing. At the same time, Miller would strive to strengthen the role of self- governments as the opposition to the government proper.

We Will Know in Six Months

"One will be able to tell whether we are succeeding or not as early as in the second quarter of next year," Deputy Prime Minister Marek Borowski said. He also added: "The improvement we are offering is about the situation not getting worse." Marek Borowski admits that after reaching the bottom, the economy bounces back and some increase in productivity occurs then. That does not mean, however, that the crisis the state budget is in, should be coming to an end—he described the state budget situation as "absolutely disastrous." That is because expenses devoted to servicing foreign debts will increase significantly next year, while the analogous expenditures devoted to servicing domestic debts will increase even more. So without maintaining financial-discipline measures, it would not be possible to carry through planned financing in 1995 without radical cuts in expenditures. Borowski compared the biggest budgetary problem—that is the internal debt—to a snowball that is rolling down very quickly while rapidly increasing its volume.

"Either we will succeed in smashing the snowball apart, or it will destroy us," Borowski said.

The deputy prime minister also stressed that the lower-than-expected indices of valorization of retirement pensions, other kinds of pensions and of salaries in the budget sector, are the sacrifices resulting from policies aimed at reducing the country's internal debt. But without such policies, instead of valorizations in the budget sector, there would be much greater cuts included in the next draft budget. So the government must make decisions that will not allow for such cuts; the effects of those decisions will be felt widely in the long run.

Commenting on the state's tax policy, Borowski said: "Clinton did the same thing. He increased the tax burden on those who have the highest incomes, and he also increased the excise tax on alcohol and cigarettes, and this way he managed at least to close some gaps in the budget."

—In resolutions arrived at during the meeting, SdRP's Chief Council spoke in favor of further developing the self-government structure by suggesting—among others—that chief officers of groups of villages and mayors be elected through popular elections. SdRP also noted with satisfaction an increase in the Sejm's social prestige, but it also said it is bothered by statements made by the president and other political figures refusing to recognize the Sejm's social mandate. SdRP also made an appeal to the government to clearly define its personnel and information policies.

Opposition Backs Censure Motion for Change

AU1312193593 Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 8 Dec 93 p 3

[Dan Preisz note: "The Democratic Opposition Adv. nced a Censure Motion"]

[Text] A meeting of the Executive Committee of the Democratic Convention of Romania [CDR] took place yesterday at the headquarters of "21 December" Association. The meeting, which was chaired by CDR President Professor Emil Constantinescu, examined the economic, political, and social situation of Romania, which is currently going through a very serious crisis. The point of maximum interest was the final touches put to the motion of censure against the Vacaroiu government. Representatives of the Democratic Party (National Salvation Front) [PD(FSN)] participated alongside of all the leaders of the parties and associations represented in the CDR Executive Committee. At the end of the meeting, they discussed and worked out together the final text of the censure motion. It is worthwhile mentioning the unity of opinions of the opposition leaders at this time of crisis, which thus ended any speculations about a possible inopportuneness of presenting the motion at this very moment or about insoluble differences of opinions.

In view of the total bankruptcy of the government's economic policy and the total loss of its credibility, the signatories—all parliamentarians from the CDR and PD(FSN)—expressed their nonconfidence in the Vacaroiu government. The motion was submitted yesterday to the two chambers of Parliament. It will probably be discussed and voted on at the beginning of next week. The motion asks for avenues to be opened to negotiate a new governmental formula, with a democratic reform program, based on the real political desire to take the country out of its current crisis.

Here are a few "hot" statements taken immediately after the meeting:

Emil Constantinescu, CDR president: "We took note of the fact that a large part of the Romanian society believes that the country's affairs are being run in a totally unsatisfactory manner. The opposition is not represented, as it is being perceived, only in Parliament, but it also exists within the Romanian society. Therefore, the CDR is dutybound to represent in Parliament the options of this real opposition coming from a significant part of this country's people. That is why we reached the conclusion that, by observing the rules of democracy, we should introduce a censure motion in Parliament, so as to conduct the discussions in a democratic framework. One must emphasize very clearly that this motion is designed to identify clearly those who truly fight for the interests of the Romanian people and those who are against these interests. The power will have to show what it has done so far and how it has fulfilled its program. This is a discussion which the Romanian population needs. For us, the motion is a duty toward those who feel deceived and frustrated."

Ion Diaconescu, PNTCD: "The motion is our protest against the miserable situation in which our country finds itself today. We, as parliamentarians, are voicing the public desire for something to be done to bring about a real change and topple this government, so as to redress this situation. We call on all parliamentarians to vote for this motion of discontent with the situation into which this country was brought."

Nicolae Manolescu from PAC: "I would like the motion to finally achieve its goal, which all of us are looking forward to, namely to bring about the change of the current government. I believe that the chosen moment is right, since the situation is getting pretty desperate..."

Adrian Severin from PD(FSN): We participated as observers in this CDR meeting, but we nevertheless want to correlate the opposition's efforts on major actions, such as the censure motion, which we jointly advanced against the Vacaroiu government."

Censure Motion Submitted

AU1312191193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] A joint meeting of the two chambers of Parliament was held this evening in Bucharest. Deputy Ioan Muresan of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] presented the opposition's censure motion against Nicolae Vacaroiu's government. Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman, who chaired the meeting, read out the name of 187 signatories of the motion. Since the statutory conditions for a censure motion were met, the Standing Bureaux of the two chambers will fix—in accordance with the constitutional provisions—the date of the debates on the censure motion. Senate Speaker Oliviu Gherman then closed the session.

Debate Set for 17 Dec

AU1312212193 Bucharest Radio Romania Network in Romanian 2000 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] A censure motion against Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu's government was submitted this evening to a joint meeting of the two Chambers of Parliament in Bucharest. Deputy Ioan Muresan of the National Peasant Christian Democratic Party [PNTCD] presented the text of the document.

A meeting of the Standing Bureaux of the two chambers also took place tonight. According to our parliamentary correspondent, Ioan David, for the first time the accredited representatives of the mass media were invited to attend the proceedings. In accordance with constitutional provisions, the Standing Bureaux decided to hold the debates on the censure motion next Friday, 17 December, as of 0800. The joint meeting of the two chambers will take place between 0800-1300 and 1500-2000. Each member of parliament is entitled to take the floor for one minute; it is up to the parliamentary groups

themselves freely to administer their available time as they deem fit. The government's allotted time is one hour.

The members of the Standing Bureaux of the two Chambers of Parliament also decided that the joint session devoted to the discussion of the censure motion should be relayed live on radio and television.

PSM Wants Cabinet To Fulfill Commitments

AU1412080393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/12/1993—"Fears that it is not a real democratic process going on in Russia have unfortunately proved to be grounded," said the propaganda secretary of the Socialist Party of Labour (PSM), Gheorghe Cazan, at a press conference on Monday, December 13. The PSM secretary said also that the unfair ruling of the Ilascu group in Tiraspol was mainly caused by the "imperialism of Bolshevik origin."

The PSM expresses its hope that the sentence will be nullified, following the demarches of the international bodies and of the Romanian political forces, said Secretary Cazan and appreciated that the political forces of Romania had proven a "commendable unity" with regard to this issue concerning the national interest, a unity which should better be achieved also in front of the other problems facing the Romanian society.

Referring to the PSM motion initiative, the PSM propaganda secretary said it would not be submitted as it had not been supported through a sufficient number of signatures. "The PSM motion was not aiming at the government change but it was asking for a crisis program which had been actually promised even since the elections. We are linked to the interest of labour and the present government cannot count on an unconditional support from the PSM while disconsidering its commitments," said PSM Secretary Cazan.

Iliescu on International, Domestic Issues

AU1312095593 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Dec 93 pp 1-2

[Interview with Romania President Ion Iliescu, by Milan Petrovic, in Bucharest; date not given: "Punitive Measures Do Not Settle Conflicts"]

[Text] Bucharest, December—President Ion Iliescu, the leading and most authoritative person in modern-day Romania, an active participant in the toppling of the Ceaucescu dictatorship, a hydroelectric engineer, and the author of several scientific studies, recently received our correspondent Milan Petrovic in the Cotroceni presidential palace in Bucharest. We are publishing extensive excerpts from the hour-long interview.

[Petrovic] In contrast to most former socialist countries, Romania has been kept in isolation for almost all of the four years since the December revolution of 1989. It was not accepted into the Council of Europe and did not again receive most favored nation status from the United States until a month and one half ago. How do you explain this?

[Iliescu] Two sorts of factors have existed. On the one hand, there have been international factors, political circles, and public opinion that have been "fed" in a certain way and that have reflected certain prejudices, certain traces of former stands, and old assessments. They have been bolstered by internal factors that have acted along the same lines and that have fought for power. Ignoring any national interest, they have tried, totally unscrupulously, to maintain the illusion that the government, which was initially a temporary government, does not have any stability or future and that therefore foreign circles do not have to rush to support this government. It was claimed that any support given to Romania would be support of the existing government.

Four years have passed. Realistic political circles have come to natural conclusions.... that in relations between states, one should bear in mind the actual situation, that is to say, one should talk with those who have a mandate and the right to make decisions in the state concerned.

Another factor that has caused isolation is the serious situation in the region in general that is full of conflict situations. However, the whole world has been persuaded that, despite the tensions that have existed since immediately after the December revolution, a process of stabilization has been noted in Romania.

Politicians With Prejudices

[Petrovic] During last year's election campaign, you claimed, in a noticeably nervous way, that the leading western political circles have been quite inconsistent in their stands regarding the former "red leaders." You said that they have been benevolent toward some and consider them to be democrats (you cited the names of Yeltsin, Kravchuk, Tudjman, and Zhelev) while they do not recognize you as such. Why, and has anything changed in this respect?

[Iliescu] I think, as I just said, that there has been a shift. It has been shown that this differentiated stand was not normal for an important political view. If we turn to some more recent events, we will see that dialogue is also being conducted with leaders of the Communist Party of China. But even today some are holding back from direct talks with leaders of Romania and its president. It seems to me that this is the same prejudice that still has roots among some politicians. This is both sad and not beneficial to the modern world.

[Petrovic] Have you invited the U.S. President to visit Romania next January when he comes to Europe for the NATO summit?

[Iliescu] When we found out about his visit to Europe and his intention to visit Russia, we suggested that the

possibility be analyzed of him briefly visiting Romania too. Since there have been numerous similar offers, the U.S. President will not, of course, be able to satisfy them all. However, we have made our offer.

[Petrovic] We are witnessing important changes in the concepts of security in Central and Eastern Europe. Most countries see a guarantee of this security in membership of NATO. However, NATO is not prepared, at least not at the moment, for such a thing. Do you have any alternative?

[Iliescu] Yes. Romania intervened in this discussion by sending a letter to NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner in which it came out against some tendencies expressed in the idea that NATO borders should be shifted by only a few states.... which means that some other states in our region would be left outside this process. It seemed to us that such a stand would be wrong and that it would not contribute to increasing the level of stability and security in the region. On the contrary, it would bring new elements of tension.

I am glad that we have been well understood.... We have now seen the recent United States initiative at Travemunde, which will be discussed at the next NATO summit. We are talking about a "partnership for peace." This matter seems more correct to me.

A differentiated, discriminatory approach to the issue would bring new sources of tension in this part of Europe, which does not suit the proclaimed aims of NATO and the Western European Union.

[Petrovic] When Romania was accepted into the Council of Europe, the arguments that were used were the successes in democratization and in the direction of creating a market economy. However, critics have been claiming that reform has stagnated.

[Iliescu] It seems to me that such claims are untrue and disloyal. It is a different matter that many difficulties are appearing on the road to advancing the reforms and that much inertia has to be overcome. However, the accusations that are being made about the present government do not correspond to reality.

There Is No Returning to the Old

[Petrovic] It is not clear from the programs of most political parties, including the ruling Party of Social Democracy, what kind of social system Romania is aspiring to: A return to "good old capitalism" or a return to "purged socialist romanticism."

[Iliescu] It is not a simple thing to formulate something very clearly these days, both because of the fluidity of the social transformation that all countries in this region are going through and because of the world economy in general.

I think that a return to the structures and mechanisms of the old society, of the old so-called socialist, centralized, statist economy, with control that is imposed by a dominant ruling party, is no longer possible.

It is not possible or even realistic for us to say this about a country like Romania because something like this would assume its isolation from the rest of the world. An autarchic view would be assumed and autarchic thoughts can only advance countries with large resources, with large territories—Russia, the United States, or China. Who can allow themselves in the present world with such a great dynamism of technical and economic discoveries to conceive of a future development in a framework isolated from the processes that are going on in the world?

On the other hand, where do we go? We are experiencing a stage, a moment of the major transition of the world economy. The present crisis—the economic recession that the western countries, Europe, North America, and Japan are going through—is not some ordinary cyclical crisis of the capitalist system. I think that it is a much deeper crisis of the system that will produce a transition to a higher, new stage of world civilization and the world economy.

We should also analyze these tendencies, these processes and see how to join them.

Speaking in concrete terms, connected with immediate aims, we must advance the market economy.... However, that economy is now registering great jumps. The market economy is leading toward a polarization between the rich and poor, both on a micro scale, at the level of micro-collectivities, at a national level, and on a macro scale, at the level of the world economy. What is being sought today, even in an international context, is an answer to the question of how to resolve the great differences between the poor and the rich world.

We are faced with another problem, especially as this has existed for many years.... It has introduced into people's thinking the idea of social justice, or reducing the differences. This is happening even under conditions of shortages and a modest market.

We are striving to find an answer to both questions: How we create a dynamic economy that will be integrated into dynamic processes of technological progress and a modern economy, on the one hand, and on the other, which factors should intervene in order to alleviate these spontaneous tendencies toward the polarization of the rich and poor and to advance the ideas of social justice.

Message for 1 December

[Petrovic] You often use the term "social market economy."

[Iliescu] This term is not used and applied only by socialists and social democratic movements. As you know, there was the "Swedish model" first of all. Social elements have been introduced into state economic thinking in many other parts of the world too. Even the

Democrats in Germany have used the term social market economy. It has also been used by Austrian social democracy with noticeable results. Therefore, we are now talking about a general preoccupation in the developed world.

[Petrovic] The 75th anniversary of the unification of all Romanian provinces and the creation of a greater Romania is being celebrated on 1 December. At a time when Europe is imbued with fears about great national groupings, what is the message of this celebration?

[Iliescu] This idea is today emphasizing a new historical moment when the idea of the unity of all forces in Romanian society is again being imposed as a necessity in order to overcome—together and through unified forces—discord, misunderstandings, conflicts, and natural contradictory interests between various sociopolitical groups and to rise up together on a platform of common interest, which means coming out of the crisis, overcoming this difficult transitional stage that Romanian society is going through, and creating a sociopolitical atmosphere that will serve the interests of all members of our society.

Good Neighborly Interests

[Petrovic] What are the real chances of the integration of Romania and Moldavia at a time when Moldavia has already decided to join the economic union of the Commonwealth of Independent States under Russian domination?

[Iliescu] It does not bother me that that republic wants to remain in one or other form of economic relations linked with the Russian area, with the former Soviet area, because it is vitally economically dependent on these relations, both as a source of energy and raw materials and as a market for its own products.

In essence, this is now the first time since Moldavian independence was proclaimed that we have established direct relations with Chisinau. Everything used to be settled through Moscow. This is a matter that should be valued. This also means that a practical line should now be taken: To develop economic, social, cultural, and scientific relations and relations between people that will secure a future for a community between the Romanians on both sides of the Prut River.

[Petrovic] At a time when Europe is not able to define its stand regarding minorities, are there any chances of a permanent solution to the quarrel between Bucharest and Budapest over the Romanian Hungarians? After the recent Romanian-Slovak meetings there is talk of a revival of the anti-Hungarian spirit of the Little Entente [mala antanta]. Is there really a need for such a European regrouping?

[Iliescu] I think that there is no anti-Hungarian spirit in our country. Not even the Little Entente was an anti-Hungarian alliance, but an alliance between states that achieved independence after World War I and that had certain common interests....

Good neighborly interests among countries that coexist in this part of Europe are at the foundation of these relations with Slovakia, the Czech Republic, and Serbia-Yugoslavia. We also want to establish such good-neighborly relations of mutual trust with Hungary, but it is necessary for one single condition to exist for this: good will on both sides....

Ideas that are being fomented about some kind of ethnic and territorial autonomy are not modern and are not in line with the realities on the continent and with the developmental tendencies of both the domestic and inter-state relations on our continent. They essentially lead to an extremely harmful practice even for members of a minority. This leads to the segregation of certain groups from the majority population within some states. This only worsens the atmosphere and cohabitation within the state, the cohabitation of minorities and the majority population, worsens relations between neighboring states that have minorities on their territories.

[Petrovic] At the beginning of the crisis in the former Yugoslavia, when there was a danger of secession and war spreading, Bucharest said that Serbs and Romanians were "in the same boat." Then Romanian diplomats started to talk about an equidistance and then about the formula of "equal rapprochement." Does the evolution of stands mean that the Serbs and the Romanians are now in different boats on the stormy European-Balkan sea?

[Iliescu] I do not think that there is any motivation for such a claim because we have been and remain neighbors. Everything that has characterized the history of our relations is a common good which we value highly. We are directly hit by the tragedy that is being experienced by the peoples of Yugoslavia, the Serbian people, which is our immediate neighbor. More than that, we are also directly hit by the embargo, the blockade that has been imposed on the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. We have been forced, because of our international obligations, to apply certain decisions by the Security Council, but we are not doing that with an open heart. We have stated more than once that we do not think that the forced measures can settle conflicts in this or any other country. We do not think that such punitive measures can solve such problems. On the contrary, practice shows that they only worsen the internal situation and push things toward uncontrollable situations.

We have been advocating, and we are pleading for, rational political solutions to be found that will primarily take account of the interests of the peoples involved in this inter-Yugoslav conflict. We are in favor of action being taken at the negotiating table, of encouraging those who are directly implicated so that solutions that are acceptable to all sides can be found through dialogue. It seems to me that it is very constructive for the direct participants to pass over certain delicate, difficult

moments and to find a way to make mutual concessions, compromises in order to finalize the solutions. The conflict should first of all be stopped and then a way to normal relations should be found.

[Petrovic] The postponed trip to Romania by Croatian President Tudjman has provoked much comment. Among other things, it has been claimed that Croatian diplomats are not happy with the fact that, even though it claims that it is conducting a policy of equidistance with all former Yugoslav republics, Romania is nevertheless paying more attention to its overall relations with Serbia.

[Iliescu] President Tudjman's postponed visit really was connected with unsuitable atmospheric conditions. There are no political reasons whatsoever for postponing this visit.

Regarding our relations, we want to have good relations with all the states that are emerging from the former Yugoslavia. We have had, we have, and I am convinced that we will continue to have excellent relations with Serbia, which is our immediate neighbor. However, we want to have good relations with the other republics that have appeared in this period. After all, it is also in the interest of Serbia to have good relations with these new states and for us, as good neighbors, to have good relations with the other states that used to be members of the former Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Therefore, I do not see any contradiction from this point of view.

Incorrect Assessment

[Petrovic] Some people think that the renewal of most favored nation status and support for Bucharest's demands for new loans is a certain compensation to Romania for "fertile cooperation" in applying the sanctions of the United Nations Organization against Yugoslavia. It is being said that in applying the embargo official Bucharest is trying to be "more Catholic than the pope." How would you comment on that?

[Iliescu] It seems to me that the assessment is incorrect and does not correspond to reality. I do not understand what "more Catholic than the pope" means. Yes, there are some sanctions and they are being respected. These are decisions by international bodies that we have joined. We are respecting them to the letter and in the spirit. From that point of view, Romania has not made any exception at all, but has not demonstrated any excessive zeal either, if I can say that.

In applying these measures we have been in constant dialogue with Yugoslav organs. We have always coordinated stands and we have always encountered understanding regarding the measures that we have been obliged to apply. Therefore, I do not think that there is any reason whatsoever for correlating these two aspects.

[Petrovic] I believe that you agree with the assessment that Romania has only two secure borders: the one on the Black Sea and the one with Yugoslavia. How come tension has appeared on the Romanian-Yugoslav border, caused by the treatment of travelers and a rigid attitude regarding the embargo? Perhaps the Romanian center says one thing and the periphery does something else?

[Iliescu] These matters are not connected only with the border with Yugoslavia and only with the embargo that should be respected. We have great difficulties on the borders with the other neighboring countries too. Cross-border traffic has increased greatly and our border infrastructure is inadequate. I think that as a result of these technical difficulties similar moments of tension are arising on the border with Yugoslavia too. This concerns the issue of smuggling, which emerges depending on the "demand" that arises, as is now the case with gas.

The Malice of the Press

[Petrovic] The opposition controls around 80 percent of the press in Romania, while national television is neutral. How do you manage to communicate with the people and do you not think that, with such a balance of media power, you could lose the next elections?

[Iliescu] According to the stands that many publications have taken, such an assessment could be right to a certain extent. I could not say that the opposition is controlling this, but there is a certain inclination in a large part of the press to take a stand toward the authorities that is not totally benevolent and is even malicious. This is the reality. It is also easier and more straightforward to criticize under conditions of competition in selling newspapers, it is more popular to criticize government when difficulties are real and when the population feels these difficulties. Many journalists are endeavoring to make use of this spiritual state, to maintain aggressive opposition to the government and to factors of authority.

Melescanu Reaffirms Desire To Join NATO

AU1312171393 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1359 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/12/1993—Romanian Foreign Minister Teodor Melescanu made a statement before his departure on an official visit to Luxembourg. "By the attitude it is promoting towards the European spirit, this country is a first rate political benchmark. One should not forget that financial companies are based here, with which we intend to establish concrete links."

As for the visit he is going to pay to the U.S., Melescanu said that he would reaffirm the intention of his country to get integrated into the NATO structures. The integration would be "strictly defensive, with no advantage in

view to somebody else's detriment, our neighbors, for instance," and conceived "as a guarantee of domestic security."

On another line of thought, the Romanian minister said that he would be happy if those who passed sentences on the Ilie Ilascu group [in Tiraspol] would realize that their action was "illegal," their accusation "absurd," and their sentence "cruel." According to Melescanu, the pro-communist and anti-Romanian options of the authorities in Tiraspol and the presence of the 14th Russian Army in the territory of Moldova have made it possible that Ilascu be sent before a firing squad.

Israel Defense Official Arrives

AU1412081293 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1607 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/12/1993—A military delegation headed by Reserve General David Ivry [name as received], director-general, Israeli Defence Ministry, is visiting Romania over December 12-15, 1993, the army press office reports. Major-General David Ivry will be received and will conduct talks with Prime Minister Nicolae Vacaroiu and his Romanian counterpart Lieutenant-General Niculae Spiroiu.

Meets With Vacaroiu

AU1412080193 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1925 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 13/12/1993—Romanian-Israeli relations have lately recorded most useful cooperation actions for the Romanian economy. It is in this context that proceeds also the Romanian visit by the delegation headed by David Ivry [spelling as received], director-general of the Israeli Ministry of Defence, that called on Premier Nicolae Vacaroiu on December 13.

The Romanian premier's appraisal of the efficiency of the cooperation between the two countries was shared by Mr. Ivry, who expressed his delegation's intent to establish collaboration in the military domain as well.

The invitation extended to the Israeli prime minister to visit Romania was reiterated at the close of the talks that were attended also by Romanian National Defence Minister Niculae Spiroiu.

Boban Views Relations With Muslims, Zagreb

AU1112155493 Split SLOBODNA DALMACIJA in Serbo-Croatian 1 Dec 93 pp 6,7

[Interview with Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna, by Josip Jovic; place and date not given: "The UN High Commissioner for Refugees Wanted To Deliver Arms as Aid to Muslims"]

[Text] We are talking with Mate Boban, president of the Croatian Republic of Herceg-Bosna, the controversial president of a controversial republic, in the period between two Geneva peace talks, the one at which the agreement on free passage for the aid convoys has been reached, and the other starting today, which is expected to produce considerable political solutions. Still, first of all let us take a look back, on how the agreement on the aid convoys has been implemented:

[Boban] We have never stopped any convoys, nor have we ever been a cause for their stoppage. A convoy was stopped because the Danish driver was killed in central Bosnia. I have just received a letter from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees [UNHCR], dated 25 November, in which we are given full recognition for letting the convoys pass freely, after they previously announce themselves, and we inspect the contents, which is stipulated in the agreement. The problems ensue in the regions controlled by the Muslim forces, where the convoys are still being stopped and looted. There were also many problems until we agreed on what the humanitarian aid really is. Both the UNHCR and UNPROFOR insisted that the humanitarian aid is everything that they declare as essential for survival.

My objection was that the humanitarian aid is something that is not used for the purposes of war, which is food, medicines, clothes, and footwear. For instance, the UNHCR demanded that dynamite also be designated as an article of humanitarian aid, because it is reportedly needed for mining coal in Kakanj, Tuzla, and elsewhere. However, you see, we know that 300,000 various kinds of projectiles are prepared in Zenica, and directed at the Croatian people. All that is needed for such a plan to be carried out is dynamite. Quite certainly, we could not agree to what the UNHCR demanded. We knew that arms have been transported under the pretext of humanitarian aid. Arms can be produced even from fertilizers. We demanded to inspect the goods during loading, which has been accepted, to mutual satisfaction. We demanded that the distribution of relief goods be controlled, because a part of provisions is usually distributed to the Muslim soldiers, while the rest is used to blackmail the people. Our attitude in that respect has also been accepted.

[Jovic] Still, there are no guarantees that the clauses of the agreement will be really implemented.

[Boban] There are no guarantees, but at least we showed that we are not crazy, and that the agreement at least exists as such. As a matter of fact, we are not able to control the distribution of the humanitarian aid, because while all the logistics centers for humanitarian aid are situated on Croatian territory, the centers of distribution are situated on Muslim territory. The UNHCR still reserves the right to determine alone who needs food. We insist that every fifth convoy goes to Croats, because 20 percent of the population living in the region that is not occupied by Serbs are Croats.

[Jovic] The coming meeting in Geneva has a different character. You have already had a meeting with the German ambassador in Split, so you are familiar with the contents of the Juppe-Kinkel initiative. What do you expect from it?

[Boban] The main subject of that initiative is humanitarian aid as well. However, that is obviously only an pretext for the resumption of the interrupted political talks. The Kinkel-Juppe initiative rests on the already accomplished level of negotiations, and I am almost positive that neither Serbs nor Muslims will accept it, regardless of how strong the pressure that might be put on them. Even if the international community forces the Serbs into ceding 3 or 4 percent of the territory, that will not satisfy the Muslims again, because since the very beginning they have maintained the view that Bosnia-Herzegovina is a country of the majority Muslim population, or rather that it is a part of a broader state that would encompass the Muslims.

The Easiest Thing Is To Put Pressure on Croats

[Jovic] There will certainly be pressures put on Croats, particularly regarding Muslim access to the Adriatic.

[Boban] In that respect we do expect pressures. As far as we are concerned, however, I hold the view that access has been already agreed, that is, through the port of Ploce, which is the maximum the Croats can do. They cannot make any other concessions. That principle could also allow the Croats to demand access to the basins of the Drina and Una Rivers, for instance.

[Jovic] Did you discuss that possibility with Mr. Weisel?

[Boban] He only asked whether we would withdraw our decision to give up the promised concessions in the event the Serbs were to agree to cede those 3 to 4 percent of the territory. He was also interested in Mostar. My explanation in that regard was quite simple: Each republic is supposed to have its capital, that must have the entire infrastructure necessary for the functioning of a capital, ranging from an airport to a university. There are six such cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina. We demand just one of them.

[Jovic] Frankly, is Bosnia-Herzegovina still possible as a union?

[Boban] That idea has actually been undermined by the other two sides. As a matter of fact, they have definitely eliminated it in their mutual declaration, in the fifth clause. It says that a referendum conducted in the

Serbian Republic may enable it to immediately secede, and annex to Serbia, while all the rights of succession are given to Muslims. Do you need any better proof?

[Jovic] Then, why are many foreign officials putting the greatest blame for the partition of Bosnia-Herzegovina on the Croatian side, like Lord Owen in the recent time?

[Boban] The easiest thing to do in this moment is to put the pressure on Croats. Croatia itself has great problems trying to protect its state integrity, and its hand and foot have been bound as well, because it has been threatened with retaliation if it tries to settle the problem militarily. By blaming Croats the international community is diminishing the responsibility of other sides in the conflict, and such a balance is supposed to satisfy all the sides, and produce the settlement acceptable for all. There are certain limits to which we can put up with such things. What the Muslims did to us in Travnik, Konjic, and so forth, could not have happened if we had been allowed to defend ourselves. It seems as though the entire policy of foreign factors had gone for such a thing to happen.

[Jovic] Is that an explanation for certain military defeats of the Croatian Defense Council [HVO]? The freshest example is what happened in Vares.

[Boban] Those defeats happened to us precisely in the places where a constructive relationship between Muslims and Croats was seemingly established. It is about a classic stab in the back. Such was the Muslim response to the factually one-sided alliance, and to all the good things we had done for them. In the places where we expected their attacks, they regularly suffered defeats. Look at the vast region of the Zepce and Usora River that we managed to defend although the number of enemy troops was much, much greater.

The Price of Thoughtlessness

[Jovic] Could we then say that was the price you paid for your thoughtlessness?

[Boban] Yes, we can put it that way as well. It is really strange how the events in Livno, Stolac and Konjic did not alarm the people of Bugojno. Or that 15,000 Croats having been expelled from Kakanj did not alarm the citizens of Vares. Those examples from central Bosnia point to the well-deliberated policy of ethnic cleansing, and creation of the ethnically pure Muslim state. Look here, in all our proposals Vares, Zepce and Kakanj are given to Muslims. Why did they attack those towns then? After the fall of Vares Alija Izetbegovic speaks on Radio Sarajevo about the successful operation of the liberation of Vares which was started following the decision of the Presidency of Bosnia-Herzegovina, and carried out as a coordinated action by the 3d Zenica Corps and 2d Tuzla Corps, the one that we founded, by the way. Rasim Delic, commander in chief of the Army of Bosnia-Herzegovina, congratulates the celebrated corps on their success in liberating Vares from Ustasha [Croatian World War II fascist] criminal gangs. That may be quite a good lesson for those who advocate the alliance with Muslims.

[Jovic] Still, it is quite enigmatic that the Muslims are so strong all of a sudden? It was obviously not expected.

[Boban] One year is a long time. They were not shooting at Serbs, they were saving ammunition, and preparing for us. Among others, it is also us who were supplying them with arms, while they have been producing the arms themselves as well.

[Jovic] Why did Slobodan Praljak resign?

[Boban] Because of illness, which is stated in his letter of resignation as well. Would you like me to show it to you?

[Jovic] Still, it is a confirmation of the failure?

[Boban] There was some indolence, we have to admit that. When speaking of the factor of surprise and betrayal, then we refer more to the dimensions of the Muslim offensive. When they started attacking us, it was still believed that it was a political argument, or pressure on us to recognize the Muslims as our masters in one basically unitarian state. One was expected to crush the HVO, and the political representatives of the Croatian people, together with their right to demand for themselves the same right to Bosnia-Herzegovina as the Muslims or Serbs have. After that the whole issue has turned into a pure genocide.

[Jovic] What is the current situation on the front like?

[Boban] Vitez, Busovaca, Novi Travnik, Travnik (short of the downtown), Kiseljak, Kresevo, now even Fojnica, are completely in our hands. Those towns are completely under our control, except Fojnica, where our army did not want to march in.

The Bridge Was Demolished by the War

[Jovic] What is your personal attitude toward cases such as Stupni Do, or the demolition of the Old Bridge in Mostar, which is really hard to justify, and which has resulted in a very ugly image of Croats in the world?

[Boban] The bridge was demolished by the war. It was used as a means of war, and such a thing had to happen. Nobody definitely knows who did it, but in any case we condemn that act. Stupni Do is the southeast control point of Vares. Very strong Muslim forces were concentrated there. They wanted to control the area, and prevent the withdrawal of Croatian forces before the raid on Vares from north and west took place. The greatest number of soldiers were killed there, and one has to keep that in mind. Still, we consider that to be a war crime, and we are investigating the case ourselves. Some commanders have already been suspended. The responsible people will be punished. We shall accept the relevant results of the investigation conducted by the international organizations. I know that this case has been very detrimental for the image of the Croatian people in

Bosnia-Herzegovina, for the image of the Croatian people in general, and of the Croatian state. However, one has to say also the following: The Muslim forces have committed a dozen of similar, even worse crimes against the Croatian people. We know for several Croatian mass graves. Just remember the township of Brajkovici, where 72 people were found buried under a plum tree near a cow-shed. The European monitors confirmed the existence of three Croatian mass graves near Vitez, containing over 40 corpses. In the place of Grabovica near the township of Jablanica 30 Croats and three Muslim women who pleaded for them were killed on 28 September, after which their heads were impaled. However, no such things justify any crime committed by a Croatian soldier, or any behavior in breach of military law. I am not recalling those crimes in order to justify what happened in Stupni Do, but rather to show that there are some double standards applied in the world, particularly in the media. The total number of reports on those crimes against Croats, about which the European monitors have also pictures and information, cannot match the number of reports written or broadcast on Stupni Do alone. That is astounding. Since the very beginning of the war no UNPROFOR troops were stationed in Vares. They came just before it was taken by the Muslim army. Just look at the case of Uzdol. What was shown was a mere 10 percent of the crimes committed there. We have the complete material on that case, and we also sent it to foreign embassies, but nobody reacted at all.

[Jovic] In Croatia itself one can often hear the opinion that the conflict with Muslims could have been avoided, and cooperation is still possible.

[Boban] The conflict could have been avoided, and cooperation is possible only in the opinion of the people who are totally unfamiliar with what is happening. Firstly, we can hardly speak of a conflict here. That is an offensive war of Muslims against Croats. The Muslims are attacking, Croats are defending themselves. We could have said: Sorry, Alija [Izetbegovic], we were just joking when we claimed that we have the right to live, and equal rights to Bosnia-Herzegovina as you have. All that we were doing was expressing our kindness toward Muslims, our willingness to cooperate and jointly defend ourselves, supporting Bosnia-Herzegovina as our mutual state, and efforts that were made in that sense on the international level. Cooperation is possible even today if Izetbegovic withdraws his statements about waging an absolute war against Croats, if he terminates the offensive actions against us, and if we establish a demarcation line under the international supervision.

The relationship of master and underling, a major people and a national minority, will never be established again. What is possible are only new co-relations based on the principle of equality. The war will end, the hate will pass away, we shall have to cooperate. As for the gentlemen in Zagreb who are teaching us lessons from the podiums of their party conventions, or from parliament, and who are totally ignorant of what has been happening here, without showing a smallest will to understand that or help us out, I can only let them know what Izetbegovic said recently, how he hoped that the democratic changes would come about in Croatia, bringing to power those forces with which he was perfectly well cooperating, and through which he would establish cooperation between Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is clear that, as far as he is concerned, such a cooperation could only happen at the expense of the Bosnian Croats, reducing them to statistics, and depriving them of any rights, which perfectly suits the demands by the leaders of some Zagreb parties that the HVO and Herzeg-Bosna be dissolved. So you see, with such people Izetbegovic could cooperate quite well.

Bosnian Posavina

[Jovic] How true is the remark that Herceg-Bosna is not supported by all the Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina, but rather by just a small number of them, by the Croats in western Herzegovina?

[Boban] Those conclusions are stated without knowledge of the facts. They have to be proven. The Croatian republic supports the right of any Croat to the civic, national, religious, and any other freedom, and also his or her right to Bosnia-Herzegovina as his or her own state. Bosnia-Herzegovina is a political framework for the protection of the vital interests of our entire people. Precisely contrary to those remarks, we enjoy the full support of all the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Individuals do not express the political will of the people.

[Jovic] You have been considerably criticized by the Bosnian Franciscans, who are the symbol of Croatianhood in those regions.

[Boban] Even if there are those who disagree with our policy, and I completely understand them, because they view things from the historical point of view, there are even more those Franciscans, and I can show you their letters if you like, who fully support me. After all, the earlier and the current destiny of the Franciscans, the hate with which Muslims are attacking and killing them, speak for themselves.

[Jovic] I think that the majority of the justifiable objections refer to the issue of Bosnian Posavina [Bosnian side of the Sava River basin], which was surrendered to Serbs mostly through negotiations and without any justifiable reason. Particularly illogical is the discontinuity of the area that is a part of Croatia.

[Boban] Bosnian Posavina has been occupied by the Serbian aggressor, except the towns of Orasje and Samac. It is about a piece of free territory only 15 kilometers deep, and 25 kilometers wide. We have not accepted the maps you saw to show some discontinuity as you have just mentioned, nor shall we ever accept them. That is just a preliminary proposal, in fact the Serbian will expressed through Owen's mouth. That question will be settled when the Serbs and Croats in Bosnia, and also Croatia and Serbia give us their definitive answers. That

we have never given up that territory is shown by the proposal on the arrangement of counties in our republic, according to which the Bosnian Posavina is a separate county, encompassing the townships of Orasje, Samac, Odzak, Brcko, Bosanski Brod, Modrica, and Derventa. Posavina is treated as a part of the undivided territory of the Croatian republic. It is an autonomous county, just like other three counties, while everything that is demanded beyond that is subversive.

[Jovic] Recently you formed a new government. To what extent is your republic functioning as a state?

[Boban] We have all the laws and regulations necessary for the functioning of a state. It is a different question how much can be implemented in the war conditions. Certainly, we could have done much, much better. We appointed Jozo Martinovic, one of our best financial experts, as the minister of finances, which will help us eliminate errors that certainly exist.

Stopping Crime

[Jovic] Herceg-Bosna has become a synonym for crime and smuggling.

[Boban] Crime and smuggling exist in any country that happens to be in the situation we are in. We know that, and are doing whatever we can to prevent it. We are trying to catch the offenders, and punish them. I do not know, perhaps we could have done more until now, but from now on, with regard to the establishment of the ministries, and state administration, we shall be much more active, and I would not advise anybody to get involved in such wrongdoings.

[Jovic] Where are your ministers?

[Boban] They are all in Mostar, I am there as well, while in addition, I have my office in Grude as well.

[Jovic] You have declared the Croatian dinar and German mark as official currencies. Has the monetary system of Herzeg-Bosnia not thereby become a part of the monetary system of Croatia?

[Boban] You can say so now, the dinar and German mark are the basic means of payment. For 30 years the German mark has been the main currency here. In the already signed agreement on the Union [of the republics of Bosnia-Herzegovina] it is anticipated that each republic should have its own national bank, while on the level of the Union one can find some common currency, say the Bosnian ecu.

[Jovic] The Austrian deputy Friedrich Koenig, who was in Zagreb recently, demanded from President Tudjman that he dissociate himself from Boban, as one of the conditions for Croatia keeping its status as special observer at the Council of Europe. It has been rumored that Tudjman really did demand your resignation at the meeting in Split, so that your resignation is now only a matter of time.

[Boban] Tudjman may dissociate himself from me, and as opposed to other people, I would do so if I were him. Many people do not understand that this is the time for struggling and shedding blood for the Croatian state, rather than the time for pursuing functions, or honor, or authority. I think that all those rumors are pure platitudes. What does the demand for Tudjman to dissociate himself from me mean? It is a nonsense. In that case he would have to dissociate himself from the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina as well, because this is not only my struggle, and it is not embodied by a single man. There are thousands of Mate Bobans. I repeat, although Tudjman has no right to demand my resignation, if he were to say that he wants my resignation, in that very moment I would resign. After all, I am not here because I wanted to be.

[Jovic] When you took up that role, you were probably not aware of what was awaiting you, what challenges and responsibilities, because people are being killed, they are waging a war. There have also been everyday attacks, criticisms, and belittling of your personality. Are there moments when you think: Well, perhaps I chose the wrong way, perhaps they are right?

Critics From Parliament

[Boban] You are a witness that I endured even worse treatment when I was completely uninvolved. A man who performs a public function, when others are spitting at him, should accept that, and even take care that not a single piece of spit misses him. Sooner or later that spit will do justice either to the conscience of the person who was spat at, or the persons who spat. For that reason I do not react to such things. I also do not have time for it. I have to take care about thousand things. Even if nothing else were to be taken care of but how to provide 40,000 to 70,000 packs of cigarettes for the soldiers on a daily basis, and as many cans, as many kilograms of bread, and ammunition, I would be swamped with work. Given the help of my aides, I accomplished the functioning of the systems of health-care, schooling, and at least some security in the free territory. It is a very difficult job, in which errors are also possible. The great and basic task was to make the people understand the essence of the problem. Precisely because I know the essence of the problem I believe in my political project, which has the full support of our people. It is ready to fight to the last man to accomplish that project. For that reason I have never questioned the righteousness of that way. I can never ever be made by my critics in Zagreb to wonder whether they are perhaps right. They are not right because, while exchanging their mutual party accusations, they do not have information, they do not know, or do not want to know anything about the historic and political position of our people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, about its endangered political rights, and endangered existence as such.

Those critics of mine in the Croatian Parliament have never been in Bosnia-Herzegovina, they care much more about what the diplomatic corps will say about their

attitudes, than this people here, they behave as if the war were behind them, or far away from them, they are absorbed in making own political careers, in keeping their lives comfortable. Of course, in addition there come the thoughts like "who are those blockheads from Herzegovina, after all, to dare to defend themselves, and thereby disturb our peace," or for instance, that Herzegovinians are to blame for Croatia's being threatened with sanctions, and so forth. From the aspect of the global Croatian interest I cannot be wrong, because that interest is something beyond my personality, something to which I am also subject, even at the price of life, and not the other way round, as is frequently the case with some Croatian politicians, who subordinate the global interest to the interest of their careers.

[Jovic] Finally, what do you think about Fikret Abdic?

[Boban] Western Bosnia is a particular phenomenon. At first, Abdic managed to stop the Serbs on the Una River, which is strategically very important for the Serbs, and so is Bihac. He immediately understood what Bosnia-Herzegovina is, and in which form it can survive. That has been quite obvious ever since the Cutilheiro plan. By his attitude toward Croatia he is setting a great example of what kind of relations the central Bosnia could also have with Croatia. And of course, he has become a traitor just because he offered his rational policy as an option different from the suicidal and genocidal policy of Izetbegovic's, who, as you see, has started shooting at his own people.

Karadzic Criticizes Statement by France's Juppe

LD1412030993 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2354 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Pale, Dec 13 (TANJUG)—Bosnian Serb President Radovan Karadzic said on Monday that a statement made on Sunday by French Foreign Minister Alain Juppe about the forthcoming early parliamentary elections in Serbia, called for December 19, was putting pressure which was neither fair nor conducive to a political settlement of the crisis in former Yugoslavia.

In statements to TANJUG and the Bosnian Serb news agency SRNA, Karadzic said that "interference in Serbia's elections in the interests of the opposition is a disservice to the opposition and shows that Roman Catholic Europe wants to destabilise (Orthodox Christian) Serbia and weaken the negotiating position of (Serbian) President Milosevic."

"In the final stages of the Yugoslav crisis, it is to the interest of the Serbian people as a whole to have a stable Serbia and a strong negotiating position of President Milosevic. It is only in this mat [as received] we can attain the Serbian strategic interests which have been protected all through the crisis," said Karadzic.

Speaking on French television's Channel Three on Sunday, Minister Juppe said he doubted if elections in Serbia would be democratic, and opined that Serbia had become isolated from the rest of the world because of the blindness and stubborness of its present leaders.

UN's Aikman on Serbs' 'Unacceptable' Attitude

AU1312164393 Paris AFP in English 1618 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] Sarajevo, Dec 13 (AFP)—The commander of UN forces in Bosnia-Herzegovina is to hold talks with the general in charge of Bosnian Serb forces after new attacks on UN aid convoys in northern and eastern Bosnia, a UN spokesman said Monday [13 December].

Meanwhile Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic, reacting to talk in Brussels Friday about tightening European Community (EC) sanctions against Belgrade, threatened to inflict a "final" military defeat on Bosnia's Moslems.

Bosnia's three warring communities are due to hold a new round of peace talks in Geneva and Brussels on December 21-22. The EC has threatened to tighten sanctions unless the Bosnian Serbs and Croats make territorial concessions to the Moslems.

General Francis Briquemont, commander of UN forces in Bosnia, and the Bosnian Serb commander General Ratko Mladic have agreed to meet later this week, Lieutenant Colonel Bill Aikman said, without specifying a date. The move followed "another of the serious efforts by Bosnian Serbs' Army to limit our freedom of movement," Aikman commented. [passage omitted] "The attitude of local Serbs was simply unacceptable," Aikman said.

Despite the recent problems, "the total land tonnage" of aid getting through to the needy "continues on a slightly upward curve," HCR spokesman Ray Wilkinson said. Almost 3,600 tons got through last week, compared with 2,800 tons the week before, and 2,300 tons the previous week. However, "these figures fall way below the basic requirements for Bosnia," he said, "the overall situation remains very, very spotty and very discouraging."

In Brussels, UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) Sadako Ogata said the European Commission Monday unfroze some 86 million Ecus (about 100 million dollars) in additional aid for war victims in ex-Yugoslavia. This brought the total amount of humanitarian aid provided this year by the 12-nation European community to about 400 million Ecus, Ogata said.

The new funds would go mainly to provide food, shelter, clothes and fuel for victims of the conflict in Bosnia, although money would also go for refugees in Serbia, Montenegro, Croatia and Macedonia. Almost 4.2 million people are "particularly" badly affected in former Yugoslavia, according to the Commission.

The situation in Bosnia—the main region where she and the Commission were working together—remained "very grave," with continuing shortages of food, fuel and protection against the cold, Ogata added. Ogata and the

EC's executive commission also signed a "partnership" agreement on humanitarian aid, aimed at permanently improving cooperation between the two, she said. [passage omitted]

Momcilo Krajisnik, speaker of the self-proclaimed Bosnian Serb parliament, claimed the Serbs and Moslems had agreed to close Sarajevo airport because "the two parties can't both use it at the same time," and build their own facilities—the Serbs at Sokolac, 30 kilometers (20 miles) northeast of Sarajevo, and the Moslems at Visoko, 20 kilometers (10 miles) to the northwest.

CEI Foreign Ministry Officials Visit Sarajevo

AU1312161893 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpts] A 10-member delegation of the Central European Initiative [CEI] arrived in Sarajevo today for a two-day visit. The delegation is comprised of representatives of the Foreign Ministries of Austria, Hungary, Italy, and Poland. The delegation was received by Alija Izetbegovic, president of the Presidency of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The visitors then talked to Presidency members Nijaz Durakovic, Mirko Pejanovic, and Stjepan Kljuic. Nedzad Leko has the details.

[Leko] [passage omitted] Presidency member Mirko Pejanovic said the following about the content of the talks with the delegation of the CEI:

[Begin Pejanovic recording] Durakovic, Kljuic, and I talked....[pauses] We expressed the Presidency's gratitude for the initiative and the mission that the gentlemen are conducting on behalf of the countries of the CEI. We acquainted them with our humanitarian problems, particularly those pertaining to the cities of Sarajevo, Mostar, and other cities in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and we naturally highlighted the problems that are currently topical and which concern the winter and the survival of the population in winter conditions. Of course, we used this occasion to say that for the city that has suffered the most, the largest city in this country—for Sarajevo and the Sarelians—the greatest help for surviving the winter in conditions of extreme cold would be a steady supply of gas.

As far as the peace process and the political solution of the Bosnia-Herzegovina problem is concerned, we reiterated for the gentlemen that we do not expect Europe to give up half way with its demands and the pressure that had been applied by Willy Claes in the name of the union at the continued Geneva talks a fortnight ago. This implies support for the Bosnian side, the legitimate Bosnia-Herzegovina authorities' demands for concessions regarding the return of territories, and outlets to the sea and the Sava River, and that within this framework—the framework of the maintenance of Bosnia-Herzegovina's internationally recognized status—and with all the other demands put forth by the Bosnian side, solutions are found that will lead to peace and freedom in these regions. [end recording]

In the course of the day, the CEI delegation visited the archbishopric and talked to Monsignor Vinko Puljic. This afternoon the delegation will meet with representatives of nongovernmental humanitarian organizations. They will also talk to members of the government and Deputy Prime Minister Edib Bukvic.

'Chetniks' Launch 'Large-Scale Offensive'

AU1412115793 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Report by Hajrudin Sermic]

[Text] The aggressor has stared a fresh offensive in the zone of responsibility of the 7th South Operations Group.

[Sermic] A large-scale enemy offensive that had been prepared for a long time has started on the free territories in the zone of responsibility of the 7th South Operations Group. Since early this morning, the aggressor fired over 1,200 projectiles of various calibers on Maglaj, Tesanj, and the free territories of Doboj and Teslic. Three hours ago, mad Chetniks also attacked the southern defense sector toward Maglaj and Crni Vrh. The directions of attack are Novi Seher, Tujnica, Krsno Polje, and Bakotici.

In addition to local chetniks, units from Serbia and the so-called Serbian Krajina are also taking part in the attack. In Tesanj and Maglaj, the occupier is currently experiencing what it experienced in Olovo and Teocak.

In the last 19 months of war, the enemy carried out seven large-scale offensives. However, the eighth offensive will last the shortest time. This is a message of the fighters and officers from the 7th South Operations Group.

'New Evidence' on Role of Croatian Regular Army

AU1412124093 Sarajevo Radio Bosnia-Herzegovina Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] The relevant services of the Army of the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina have obtained new evidence on the participation of members of the regular Croatian Army in the aggression on our country.

The Army Press Center states that in addition to the units from Split and Metkovic and the Matija Vlasic unit from Opatija, which are under the direct command of the General Staff of the Croatain Army, units from Orasac and Osijek are also deployed in the Gornji Vakuf region. Ivan Petar Ahic, from Sinj, who is a member of the 114th brigade of the Croatian Army from Orasac, and Zeljko Marusic, member of the National Guard unit from Osijek, are the two fighters who have so far been identified among dead Croatian fighters.

Serbs Claim Gains in Fighting for Sarajevo

LD1312160593 Pale Radio-Televizija Republike Srpske Studio-S Radio in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] The offensive actions by Izetbegovic's Muslim forces in Sarajevo, carried out in the last few days, were focused on the front in Novo Sarajevo, on the demarcation line between the Vrbanja Bridge and the Jewish cemetery.

A fierce attack by the Muslim forces began around 1900, first from infantry weapons and later from artillery and mortars. During the attack they managed to enter an empty no-man's land, which was a buffer zone between the two sides, with the intention of penetrating the Serb defense lines toward Grbavica and thereby realize the plans of the Muslim commander, Rasim Delic, to conquer the Serb areas of Sarajevo.

Our fighters responded with all available weapons and heavy fighting developed, which lasted until 0600 this morning. The result is known, and as always so far: Izetbegovic's army was heavily defeated. The Muslim commanders are left to count the number of the dead Muslim warriors, since they are the ones who draw insane plans and send people to certain death.

Just to add, the Serb defense positions have been moved significantly on this part of the front. There were no casualties among the Serb fighters in the fighting last night. [passage omitted]

Muslim 'Fundamentalists' Terrorizing Zenica

LD1312202193 Mostar Croatian Radio Herzeg-Bosna in Serbo-Croatian 1700 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Islamic fundamentalists continue to terrorize areas of central Bosnia, especially in Zenica, where general hunger and terror prevails. The people are literally starving, although the shops are full of food from humanitarian aid parcels. War profiteers—local officials of the Party of Democratic Action and advocates of the introduction of the shari'a [Islamic law]—have raised prices enormously, so 25 kg of flour costs 400 marks.

The media are blaming the genocidal Croats of Vitez for this situation and inciting the people to a definitive settling of scores with ustashas from the Lasva region.

Terror is also being stepped up against members of the Muslim nation who will not accept the Islamic way of life and who reject war against the Croats. The prison in (Mehuric) is full of Muslims who have refused to take part in the aggression against Croat areas.

More than 14,000 Zenica Muslims have filed requests to emigrate and—particularly symbolicly—in the main they name Croatia as the place they would like to emigrate to.

As a result of this situation, Zenica Mayor Spahic is banning all departures from Zenica. Croats who have also put their names down as wanting to leave Zenica, despite having paid 1,000 marks each for this in advance, have been driven into the settlements of (Blatus) and Kanal and locked up in so-called gypsy huts so that war profiteers and members of mojahedin formations can move into their apartments. This policy led to a fierce conflict between Islamic fundamentalists from the so-called Green League and members of the Zenica Ministry of Internal Affairs [MUP], in which 13 members of the MUP lost their lives.

We have reliable information that the Catholic church in the settlement of Crkvice has been pillaged and demolished. The pictures, frescoes, and statues have been destroyed and the parish office was robbed.

In the Croat villages of Podbrezje and (Cajdrase), west of Zenica, the churches have been blown up and the headstones in the local cemetery have been smashed. The Muslim armed forces have set up mortar launchers in front of the church in (Cajdrase) from which they are firing at Vitez, and they are keeping an ammunition dump in the ruins of the church.

Babic 'Leading Convincingly' in RSK Elections

AU1412112693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1100 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] According to unofficial data, the Serbian Democratic Party of Krajina and its presidential candidate Milan Babic are leading convincingly in the parliamentary and presidential elections held in the Republic of Serbian Krajina [RSK] on Sunday [12 December]. It has been announced in Knin that, according to the information received so far, Milan Babic won more than 100,000 votes while independent candidate Milan Martic won a little less than 50,000 votes. The data from four electoral units, among which are Knin and Benkovac, still have not arrived.

Granic Views Conferences, Peace Initiatives

AU1312132493 Zagreb DANAS in Serbo-Croatian 7 Dec 93 pp 7-9

[Interview with Croatian Foreign Minister Mate Granic by Hloverka Novak-Srzic and Zeljko Lubura[illegible]ovic; place and date not given: "Terms Have Been Set for Milosevic"]

[Text] Last month must have been one of the most intense months in the life of Foreign Minister Mate Granic. Immediately after the announcement of President Tudjman's peace initiative, Dr. Granic was faced with the task of explaining its basic principles. In less than a month, the Croatian foreign minister has visited half the world, in a manner of speaking. The results of the president's peace initiative and Dr. Granic's diplomatic contacts are evident. Moreover, judging by the reactions in the media, it may be said that most of the Croatian peace initiative has been incorporated in the European Union documents, and, during Dr. Granic's latest visit to Rome, in the documents of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe [CSCE]. In short, the effects of the efforts of Croatian diplomacy have lately been mirrored in the media as a great amount of optimism. We therefore asked Minister Granic if there was room for optimism after the meetings in Geneva and Rome, or if everything was a matter of sheer diplomatic make-up and false media statements.

[Granic] I prefer speaking about realism to speaking about optimism. However, when speaking about optimism, it is necessary to depict the time during which President Tudjman's peace initiative was started. It is well known that the six months that Lord Owen had said he needed to organize a global peace conference on the former Yugoslavia, after which, on the aircraft carrier Invincible, the Muslim Bosnian leadership rejected the solutions, were a very dangerous period for Croatia, and for several reasons; for instance, the suffering of the people in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and the danger of humanitarian disasters occurring (do not forget that the Croats in several Bosnian enclaves are surrounded by Muslim forces). On the other hand, the situation in the UNPA's [United Nations Protected Areas] is a continuation of the Serbian aggression in Croatia, primarily because 7000 volunteers and soldiers of the regular Serb forces have arrived in these areas since the summer. This makes two brigades. Moreover, the time before President Tudjman's initiative was the time in which appeared several initiatives that were highly unfavorable for Croatia. This is why Croatia, following Security Council Resolution 871, and the Second Congress of the Croatian Democratic Community, had to come out with a very clear peace program that is de facto a position paper for Croatia (a peaceful reintegration of the UNPA's) and a position paper for Bosnia-Herzegovina. The moment the president's peace initiative was announced, Lord Owen said that its elements could be part of the global peace initiative for the solution for the UNPA's, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Kosovo, Sandzak, and so on. However, the mode of reaching the agreement was to be bilateral. In these bilateral contacts, certain things were offered that were completely unacceptable for Croatia.

[DANAS] What were they?

[Granic] Lord Owen was considering a possibility (which I can not say has been written down anywhere) that, should there be a disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina, it would be very difficult for us to keep Baranja. However, the Muslims caused the disintegration of Bosnia-Herzegovina by signing the document with the Serbs regarding the possibility of holding a referendum on separation. That was an additional reason why we came out with the peace initiative. After that, knowing that certain countries were preparing certain initiatives, such as Mitterand's humanitarian one, and after the Kinkel-Juppe initiative was announced, it was clear that we had made an excellent move.

[DANAS] From what you have said, could one reach the conclusion that President Tudjman's initiative has spoiled the plans of some other mediators in this area?

[Granic] Be that as it may, the initiative was well timed, clearly defining the peace position of Croatia. Moreover, president's initiative clearly stated that the borders must not be an issue.

[DANAS] Nevertheless, the Croatian public has been swamped with information on the pressure that the international community has been putting on Croatia regarding the ceding of some 10 kilometers of its territory to the Muslims to provide them access to the sea. What is actually happening here?

[Granic] President Tudjman decidedly refused to discuss that topic. This is confirmed by the text of his peace initiative. Lord Owen's negative reaction was motivated by the fact that President Tudjman had determined the limits to the possible negotiations. Nevertheless, everyone else supported president's initiative as a principle. Moreover, there is not one element in the initiative of the European Union that is contradictory to President Tudjman's initiative. Certain things were even included

in Kinkel and Juppe's paper later, where certain things had been unclear. Even Butrus-Ghali mentioned the president's initiative three times in the Security Council report, and in the conclusions of the latest CSCE meeting there are several elements from Dr. Tudjman's initiative. It is even more important that, in the direct talks with Kinkel, we managed to have the conclusions of Resolution 871 and the issue of the lifting of the sanctions against Serbia tied to the solution for the UNPA's in Croatia. Our definition, which talks about the occupied areas as "Croatian territories under UNPROFOR [United Nations Protection Forces] control," has been adopted in the conclusions. This concludes the matter of the territorial integrity of the Republic of Croatia. A dynamic sequence has been planed for the reintegration: signing the peace agreement, stopping the hostilities and establishing communications, and defining the autonomy after [former Conference on Yugoslavia Cochairman] Lord Carrington's model—according to the census from before the war. Our basic principles regarding this matter are contained in the Constitutional Law on the Rights of the Minorities and Ethnic Groups, though Dr. Tudjman has, in item seven of the peace initiative, allowed for the possibility that the degree of autonomy, though only local, can be discussed. Croatia will act within the European standards, and will not try anything new.

[DANAS] However, in the entire process, both on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and regarding the international forces, Bosnia-Herzegovina seems to be a thorn in the side?

[Granic] When Bosnia-Herzegovina is discussed, it is necessary to follow the dynamic sequence of Croatian state policies. Before the war, President Tudjman supported the referendum on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is well known that Izetbegovic did not support Dr. Tudjman's proposal on the confederate organization of Yugoslavia. On the other hand, Izetbegovic negotiated with Milosevic to the last day, despite the warnings that Serbia and the former Yugoslav National Army were going to attack Bosnia-Herzegovina. We understand that his position was an extremely difficult one, but the facts regarding Serb attacks on Croatian cities from the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina are indisputable. This was the time that Croatia supported the referendum on the sovereignty of Bosnia-Herzegovina. On the other hand, it is also indisputable that, in the negotiations with Izetbegovic, there were discussions of a certain degree of decentralization of Bosnia-Herzegovina, in accordance with the model of the equality of the three peoples. When the war began, when the first, [Potuguese diplomat] Cutilheiro's, plan on decentralization came up, the Croats accepted it, but the Muslims did not. The Croats also accepted the Vance-Owen plan, while the Muslims did so almost a month later, and the Serbs did not accept it at all. This all indicates that the Muslim leadership lost the pace. When the Owen-Stoltenberg plan was proposed on the Invincible, which was at the time the most favorable plan, as it could have lead to the end of the war, the Muslims again refused it.

[DANAS] These are known facts.

[Granic] Yes, they are mostly known, but through them you can see the nuances. You see, Dr. Tudjman and Izetbegovic signed the declaration, and reached another special agreement on the implementation of the declaration. Thirty-six hours after that, Izetbegovic signed an agreement with the Serbs, in which there was mention of the possibility that national referendums be held on separation from Bosnia-Herzegovina. The most important message of that agreement is that, with it, the Invincible also "sank." Therefore, the agreement on Bosnia-Herzegovina as a union of three republics sank. Naturally, in Geneva, there are still discussions of the possibilities of preserving Bosnia-Herzegovina as such a union, but the latest moves of the Bosnia-Herzegovina Muslims indicate that they have been working on creating their own state. This is a fact! And it is the disintegration of the union. In other words, the discussions in Geneva concern the possibilities of establishing a union, but also of its disintegration, in accordance with the Serb-Muslim agreement on the possibility of holding referendums. It should be taken into account that the Geneva talks are practically talks on the final arrangement for the area. All discussions now boil down to the issue of territory. I have pointed all this out to answer the improper question of whether Tudjman was dividing Bosnia-Herzegovina. Each time, Dr. Tudjman accepted the fact that Bosnia-Herzegovina should be preserved. The Croats were the first to accept that.

[DANAS] What is the Croatian position in the new context?

[Granic] Regarding the agreement between the Serbs and the Muslims, Croatia must establish its position in two ways: immediately considering the protection of the Croats, including those in the Muslim republic, but also making sure that the Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina end up with as just a solution as possible.

[DANAS] Which of the maps is the basic one in this regard?

[Granic] The one from the Invincible. This is where the European Union has stopped. As far as the Serbs and Muslims are concerned, they have two important areas of misunderstandings: Sarajevo and the Muslim enclaves in eastern Bosnia. The Serbs have offered concessions in western Bosnia in return for the enclaves in eastern Bosnia.

[DANAS] What territories are the Croats and Serbs in Bosnia-Herzegovina discussing?

[Granic] At the moment, there are practically no such discussions. The Croats are having important discussions with the Muslims, primarily regarding access to the

sea. This is the basic issue, and the only pressures that Croatia can expect will be connected to this. You have witnessed the conversation I had with President Tudjman during this discussion. The latest information of a half an hour ago, from both our ambassadors from Brussels, says that there will be no strong pressure on Croatia to make concessions to the Muslims regarding access to the sea. There will probably be attempts to find a practical solution for the Muslim access to the sea. This practical solution will be based on the principles agreed upon, though not signed, on the Invincible. This concerns the port of Ploce being a free customs zone for 99 years. This solution is in the economic interest of the Muslims, but in the interest of Croatia also.

[DANAS] Could there be considerations along the lines of the Muslim insistence on territorial concessions for the access to the sea being a kind of a mask for their military offensive in central Bosnia? Namely, wasting the time on the discussions of the access to the sea, the international community and Europe have enabled the Muslims to stall, with the stopping of the military operations in central Bosnia.

[Granic] Yes. We have reliable information from several sources that the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia had been planned a long time ago, and that its aim is for the Muslim troops to break through toward the south, that is, toward the sea. The longer the international community revolves around the problem of Muslim access to the sea, the more it will suit the Muslim offensive. We keep emphasizing this fact in our diplomatic contacts. I have told Silajdzic that the camps can be closed, the humanitarian convoys granted passage, and the ceasefire agreed upon immediately. The Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina want that, as we claim that the Muslims, if they really want to enter Europe, are historically and naturally oriented toward Croatia. This is how the United States, Germany, and Turkey see the matter. The witness to our initiatives is Turkish Foreign Minister Hikmet Cetin. Regarding our initiatives, Silajdzic said that we should file an appeal, that it is impossible to sign it in a day, after which there was an HVO [Croatian Defense Council] counteroffensive at Vitez and Fojnica. This is true, but only because Vitez had been under siege. Our proposal was to stop the offensives. However, the problem is that the Muslim leadership is not homogenous in its approach.

[DANAS] It is known that, regarding the matter of taking military action, Croatia's hands are tied when it comes to the UNPA's. Is the situation the same with the Muslim offensive in central Bosnia, the aim of which, as you have said, is to obtain access to the sea?

[Granic] If the Muslim offensive were to approach the borders of the Republic of Croatia, and the Muslim troops, as we know, are some 30 kilometers from our border, Croatia would respond powerfully and protect its territory.

[DANAS] Could you summarize your activities in the past month?

[Granic] There has not been much talk about these activities in public. We sincerely wanted to end the conflict with the Muslims and permanently settle our relations. It was all carefully planned, with the aim of a strategic normalization and the establishment of the future relations, so that the consequences of the Serb aggression both on the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina are overcome, as we are very interested in developing permanently good relations with the neighbors and in the region, and especially with the Bosnian Muslim state.

[DANAS] At the CSCE session in Rome, the United States and Russia publicly, and one could say radically, dissociated themselves from the European Union initiative. How would you account for that?

[Granic] I would not call it radical dissociation. The United States and Russia welcomed the plan of the European Union. However, the United States, as a superpower, has a sharper position regarding the sanctions against Serbia than Europe does. The Americans say that they will support everything that the three sides in Bosnia-Herzegovina agree upon, but that nothing should be achieved by pressure, especially upon the Muslims. However, the United States has not offered any specific plans.

[DANAS] To what extent are the secret negotiations that Hrvoje Sarinic, representative of the national security office, and Slavko Degoricija have been conducting with the local Serbs in accordance with the actions carried out by your ministry?

[Granic] The scope of the negotiations with the local Serbs at the moment includes a ceasefire, the establishment of communications, and the normalization of living conditions. I must say that, during these negotiations, the agreement was almost signed twice, but both times the local Serbs stated additional conditions, which were completely unacceptable. It is therefore completely clear that the elections in Serbia will have a significant influence on the negotiations. Even Milosevic's speech in Geneva was a pre-election one. However, that does not mean that Milosevic will be able to act that way much longer.

[DANAS] Talking about Serbian policies, is Karadzic, like Izetbegovic, asking for access to the sea across Croat territory?

[Granic] The Bosnian Serbs keep bringing up that issue, but it does not have priority in the Geneva talks. The priority is that Karadzic now supports the Muslims in their claim for the territorial concession of access to the sea. This can be explained by the deep strategic interests following the principle that, as soon as there is a breakthrough in one place, the rest is easier. This is why Croatia has offered the free customs zone and a port at the Neretva River that will enable communication. We

even expressed interest in building a tourist village in the area of Klek, in joint ownership, but nothing more than that.

[DANAS] What about the ideas on dividing Mostar?

[Granic] Mostar will remain within the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, and the European Union will help with administration for two years.

[DANAS] What is the current position of Croatian diplomacy?

[Granic] Croatian diplomacy can now be very active, which means that it can take the initiative and set the tone for the future negotiations. On Friday, we discussed President Tudjman starting the next round of negotiations, since our positions are very clear and acceptable to the international community. Apart from defining the access to the sea, Croatia has no other significant problems in seeking final solutions.

[DANAS] What is your interpretation of the demand made by Mr. Koning, a representative of the Council of Europe, that Croatia publicly dissociates itself from Mate Boban?

[Granic] The Council of Europe and the international community have more interest in certain events and in controlling the situation than in certain people as such. Therefore, they are interested in Stupni Do, Ahmici, the Old Bridge, the passage of convoys, the control of the internment camps. In other words, it is true that there have been such reproaches, but there have been no serious objections on the Republic of Croatia. The Council of Europe for a while asked questions regarding the freedom of the media, or the issuing of the certificates of Croatian citizenship, but never about the serious issues of foreign policy, even more so as Croatia has shown significant progress in everything. No one asks us such questions any more. What is being asked now, especially by the United States, are questions regarding the control of the situation on the territory of the Croat republic of Herceg-Bosna, with regard to what we have political influence over. Croatia has done the most in that field. It has mediated in the matter of releasing some 3,000 prisoners unilaterally, and some 4,000 total since July.

[DANAS] Do you see the scandalous appearance of the Italian foreign minister as a good example of the foreign ministers of the European Community making one kind of appearance when they represent only their own country, and another when they reach an agreement?

[Granic] One should not attach too much importance to every statement. What matters are the processes that have been taking place. You must be aware of the results of the local elections in Italy. The internal changes in Italy have been very stormy, and I would say that it is very important for us that President Tudjman's initiative has been met with a positive response in Italy. We will propose a bilateral meeting with Italy, where, without raising too much noise in the public, we would discuss all the open issues.

[DANAS] What should be expected from the next Geneva meeting?

[Granic] There have been indications that certain progress could be made, and that the international position of Croatia is becoming stronger. We have thus been offered to enter the PHARE [Economic Reconstruction Aid for Hungary and Poland] and other related programs, and an agreement on cooperation with the European Union, and I believe that we will be able to obtain the loans that have been frozen, as well as several other privileges. We will be faced primarily with the practical and economic solution to the problem of the Muslim access to the sea, as the crucial issue. This is why we will take a realistic diplomatic offensive.

[DANAS] Would it be realistic to expect that there will be a mutual recognition of Croatia and Serbia? Many analysts believe that this act is the key to the ending of the war.

[Granic] We consider the issue of the mutual recognition very important. Milosevic certainly will not, and can not do it before the elections. However, it should also be said that the European Union document obliges Milosevic to do it at London at the latest. If this does not happen, Serbia will not be recognized either.

Serb Artillery Shells Area North of Zadar

LD1412094293 Zagreb Radio Croatia Network in English 0903 GMT 14 Dec 93

[Text] Heavy artillery attacks by Serb forces began early this morning north of Zadar. Strong detonations can be heard in the city; therefore, citizens are being asked to take precaution. Serb units also attacked Suhovare, Islam Grcki, Islam Latinski, Preko, Galovac, Novigrad, Paljuv, and the northern part of the Zadar battlefield during last night.

Army Reportedly Launches Attack Near Biograd

LD1312125693 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1216 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Knin, 13 Dec (TANJUG)—This morning at 0800 Croatian forces used all available artillery weapons to attack Serbian defense lines south of Benkovac, Serb military sources have reported. A combined tank and infantry attack was also launched on defense lines near the villages of Peranje, Lisani Tinski, Kakma, and Jagodnja, south of Benkovac. After a fierce response by the Serb army of Krajina, the attack was halted at around 1030. Mediation by the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] also helped halt the attack.

'Violent Attack' on Serb Villages Kills Three

LD1312175593 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1620 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] Knin, Dec 13 (TANJUG)—Two women and one 13-year girl were killed, and two people wounded, in a violent attack on Monday morning [13 December] by the Croatian forces on Serb villages and positions south of Benkovac, in the south of the republic of Serb Krajina (R.S.K.). The R.S.K. army command announced that the members of the Croatian Army mounted the attack on Monday at eight A.M. from their strongholds in the Biograd hinterland. Croatian artillary operations have threatened the area of Benkovac, where an general alert sent citizens running to shelters.

The combined artillery-tank-infantry attack was halted by the Serb forces at 10.30 A.M, the R.S.K. command said. 'The Croatian aggression has forced the R.S.K. command to file a strong protest with the UNPROFOR [UN Protection Forces] command,' the R.S.K. command said. In the spring of 1992 R.S.K. was proclaimed a U.N. protection area (UNPA) and the U.N. troops were deployed to protect the Serb people from Croatian aggression. Despite this, Croatia has so far made three aggressions on the UNPAs in an effort to forcibly re-establish its rule in R.S.K.

R.S.K. was proclaimed by the local Serbs in late 1991 in parts of Croatia where they are the majority population in response to Croatia's violent secession from the former Yugoslavia and the attempt of the authorities to reduce their status to that of a national minority.

Talks on EU Associate Membership Begin

AU1412104293 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 8 Dec p 3

[STA report: "Preparatory Talks Between Slovenia and the European Union Already Under Way"]

[Text] Ljubljana, 7 Dec (STA)—The preparatory talks between the representatives of Slovenia and the European Union Commission for the signing of the European agreement on associate membership between Slovenia and the European Union started in Ljubljana today. The Slovene delegation is led by Ignac Golob, state secretary in the Foreign Ministry, and the delegation of the Commission by Serge Abou, head of the Chief Administration Section for Foreign Economic Relations.

The Slovene delegation also comprises of the representatives of other ministries and of the Slovene Economic Chamber. In the introduction, both delegations were addressed by Slovene Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle.

Serge Abou, in his introduction, emphasized that relations between Slovenia and the European Union are developing rapidly, as it has been only three months since the ratification of the agreement on cooperation between the partners. He acknowledged Slovenia's successes in the sphere of democracy, especially regarding the protection of human rights.

The delegations are negotiating on the basis of a memorandum passed by the Slovene Government that represents the Slovene views on a future associate membership agreement. In the introductory part they devoted the greatest attention to the duration of the transitional period and the mode in which the Slovene economy would open to the European competitors. The representatives of the Commission, on this occasion, emphasized that they acknowledged Slovenia's desire that the process of integration into the union be as rapid as possible and definitely faster that it was in the case of some other East European countries, which can expect a 10 year transitional period, is written in the press statement by the Foreign Ministry.

EU Envoy Comments

AU1312170593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] The agreement on Slovenia's associate membership in the European Union could be signed by autumn 1994, Mark Jansens, European Union ambassador to our country, stated today.

In his opinion, the central question at the moment is when Slovenia can ensure reciprocity in trade with the EC countries. Currently a staggering 90 percent of the products that Slovenia exports to the countries of the European Union enjoy tax relief, while the products of the European Twelve do not enjoy the same relief on the Slovene market.

Peterle Requests Inclusion in WEU Pact

AU0712194593 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 2100 GMT 6 Dec 93

[Text] Foreign Minister Lojze Peterle, in a letter to all the foreign ministers of the member-countries of the Western European Union [WEU] and to Hans van den Broek, WEU commissioner for international political relations, said that Slovenia would like to be one of the countries shortlisted for the stability pact in Europe, which will be discussed by the council of WEU ministers at the end of the week in Brussels.

Slovenia supports the stability pact and embraces it as the basis for flexible integration, cooperation, and the strengthening of stable security in the old continent. Slovenia also actively supports and implements the principles of human rights, the rights of minorities, and the inviolability of borders, Minister Peterle said in the letter.

All these are also the basic principles of Slovene foreign policy and can significantly contribute to the strengthening of security and stability in Europe.

European Bank Loan for Repair of Railroads

AU1412114493 Ljubljana Radio Slovenia Network in Slovene 1430 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Excerpt] Today is an important day for the Slovene Railways as a loan agreement with the European Investment Bank has been signed in Ljubljana. The bank will credit the realization of the Slovene railway project with 47 million ECU. At the same time, modernization of the railway knot and the station in Celje, which has lasted for several years, has been ceremonially concluded. Miran Korosec reports:

[Begin Korosec recording] The Slovene railway project represents the first phase in the realization of the national program of the development of our railway infrastructure. As its priority tasks it envisions a refurbishment of the existing network. This is one of the biggest and most demanding investments in the Slovene railways in the last 20 years as its value exceeds 100 million ECU. With this money we are supposed to renew 148 km of main railroad tracks, replace 50 km of railroad tracks, rebuild bridges, modernize the telecommunications between Ljubljana and Zidani Most, and place a new digital switchboard in Maribor in the coming years, while the program also envisages the upgrading of the commercial information system and the purchase of equipment for the maintenance of railroads. A part of the project that will be credited by the European Investment Bank is also technical assistance in the restructuring of the Slovene railways. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Italian Language TV Program Suspends Strike

AU1412110293 Ljubljana DELO in Slovene 4 Dec 93 p 2

[Report by Vesna R. Marincic: "Strike on TV Postponed"]

[Excerpts] The strike of the Italian-language program on Koper Television ended during the night from the end of November to the first day of December. It lasted 12 days. However, the screen was not dead all this time, but rather they broadcast 11 hours a day (which is the length of their program, namely they must have 10 hours of programing in order to broadcast in Italy) the following message: We are striking because the Council of the Radio and Television Slovenia [RTS], that is, Rudi Seligo, is taking away our autonomy. During this time they were repeating original programs produced at home, which is no sin. [passage omitted]

The council of workers of the Italian-language program of Television Koper-Capodistria informed the media, [Chairman of the State Chamber] Herman Rigelnik, and another three people from the RTS that, following Tuesday meeting with Janez Lombergar, chief editor of the RTS television programs, they decided to suspend the strike, but remain in "a state of trade union alert until the dispute is finally resolved." In other words, if "the negotiations are not successful, the announced strike will be realized in accordance with the prevailing rules." The chief editor, whose duty and right it is to edit RTS television programs—a part of which is also the Italian-language and the Slovene-language programs in Koper—will commence talks (not negotiations!) on the 1994 program with the Italian editorial board on 3 December. Regarding the strike, those who signed under the message finally admitted that the chairman of the RTS Council was right in claiming that their strike was unlawful (messages to the public are not the same thing as demands posed to the RTS leadership). The next time they will strike in accordance with the prevailing legislation. [passage omitted]

Federal

Lilic Criticizes International Community

AU1412075693 Belgrade Radio Beograd Network in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Text] FRY President Zoran Lilic visited Prokpulje this morning. Addressing representatives of the communes of the Toplice region, President Lilic said, among other things, the following: We know the price of peace, and therefore we must preserve it. We also know the price of freedom, and therefore we must not lose it. In the two world wars we were on the victors' side. Today, unfortunately, we are in the situation in which we have to prove to our allies that we are not committing genocide nor that we are aggressors, and that we will be ready to defend the borders of our Yugoslavia, President Lilic stressed. Dragan Dimitrijevic reports:

[Dimitrijevic] Replying to the objections of the businessmen from Toplice that inflation is rapidly debasing every work, President Lilic said, among other things, that the federal government is intensively preparing a program to curb hyperinflation. In the next 15 or so days, the government will come up with several programs to stimulate production and all those who can create new wealth in such difficult conditions. I will agree with you, Zoran Lilic said, that we do not need foreign shoes in our shops, but I cannot agree that bread and milk cannot reach all citizens. This is something that must be done in this country. The Yugoslav president then spoke about the incomprehensible behavior of the international community.

[Begin Lilic recording] You have been witnessing the considerable pressure and criticism of the international community, so there is no longer any point in talking about them. I would like to stress here before you that it is not correct at all that we do not want a dialogue with the world, that it is not correct at all that we are not ready to compromise, and that we are not ready for constructive cooperation, which is confirmed by the affirmation of the active peaceful policy that we have intensively been pursing and affirming since the beginning of secession in the former SFRY [Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia].

As you can see, we are today the witnesses of the fact that those who have guilty conscience, those who feel guilty in front of their children for the genocide committed against an entire nation, that they had to accept this policy. This genocide is unprecedented and you must know it since we are all suffering the consequences of this pressure by the international community.

In doing so, they violated all rights and norms, even humanitarian rights. I am talking about those who in fact adopted these rights and this humanitarian right, those who, together with Yugoslavia, participated in the creation of the United Nations and everything positive in this world. What is correct, however, is something else, and I believe that you will agree with me that this was actually what we had to do. It is correct that we are to be blamed, but primarily for not being prepared for a monologue with the international community. We are not prepared for a monologue with the world, because we would be the side that would have to listen.

Never in their history have our people been prepared to yield under the burden of threats and [word indistinct] force, just as you yourself said a few minutes ago when you spoke about the 600-year history of this town. [end recording]

[Dimitrijevic] I think that we can tell all those who wish secession of Kosovo, unrest in Raska [Sandzak], and secession in Vojvodina to stop thinking about it. We will not interfere in anyone's internal affairs, but will not let anyone interfere in our internal affairs either, President Lilic said.

[Begin Lilic recording] Only the Serbian people and all citizens of Serbia can and should decide on the future of Serbia, just as the people of Montenegro and Serbia and all citizens of Montenegro and Serbia should be decide on the future of Serbia, that is, the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, in other words, all those who want to participate in the development of our beautiful Yugoslavia and Serbia, and not all those world vagabonds and those who are helping them here, those who do not consider their own country as sacred. They will not be making such decision. This is indeed our message to them.

We have always had Brankovices [reference to Vuk Brankovic, who is thought to have betrayed Serbs to the Turks in the 14th Century] in our history, but fortunately we always had a lot more Obilices [reference to Milos Obilic, a Serbian hero from the Battle of Kosovo]. I can indeed stress this with pride in this town and region. [end recording]

[Dimitrijevic] After the talks in the headquarters of the Toplice region, President Lilic visited the newly built plant for the production of infusion devices.

Lilic: FRY Policy Secured 'Peace' in Bosnia

AU1312211493 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

["Exclusive" statement by Zoran Lilic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, to Belgrade RTB on French President Francois Mitterrand's reply to Lilic's letter requesting an easing of sanctions, on 13 December; place not given—recorded]

[Text] Well, President Mitterrand's letter should be primarily viewed as the result of months-long diplomatic activity; this is not only about this letter, which is not the result of coincidences, and of course, this speaks for itself. [sentence as heard] It testifies, after all, to the continuity of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia [FRY], and it testifies to the fact that we really have the right and the hope to expect better times, and that all that we have invested—all the cooperation that we have invested

when it comes to the policy that we have conducted, primarily the policy of peace and active cooperation with the international community, a policy that has done a lot to secure peace in the area of the former Bosnia-Herzegovina—will be verified in a way which the FRY citizens deserve. I sincerely hope that this will happen in the near future.

UN Tanks Not Permitted in Pancevo

AU1412083293 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 9 Dec 93 p 7

[Article by Miroslav Lazanski: "'Leopards' in Pancevo"]

[Text] Will the UN Protection Forces [UNPROFOR] respect the requirement set by the Yugoslav Federal Committee, that is the Yugoslav Government, to evacuate the tanks of the type "Leopard-1A-374" from the logistics base in Pancevo, which was placed at the UN disposal for peace operations? The tanks were brought to this base on their way to Tuzla. The Nordic battalion brought to Pancevo several armored transporters and 11 tanks of the "Leopard" type, but the problems arose because of the tanks. Yugoslavia agreed to be the transit country for these tanks, thus showing the goodwill for cooperation with the UNPROFOR. It has so far allowed transit for all UNPROFOR convoys on their way to the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, so that it was expected that it would do so also in the case of the controversial "Leopards," which come from the Danish section of the Nordic Battalion. The problem, however, lies neither with Belgrade nor with Pancevo, but obviously with the bureaucratic structures of the UN and the UNPROFOR.

Strange Precedent

The tasks of the UNPROFOR in the protected zones, one of which is also Tuzla, are clearly defined in the UN Security Council resolutions, especially in Resolution 836. The UNPROFOR can use personal and defensive weapons for these tasks with the aim to protect humanitarian convoys. The tanks of the "Leopard" type obviously do not belong to either personal or defensive weapons, although weapons themselves can be neither defensive nor offensive, the difference can only be made by their use.

In all previous UNPROFOR actions in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina, the UN forces used armed transporters and armed infantry vehicles as the heaviest weapons with the maximum gun caliber of 30 mm. These transporters, consisting of the British "Warriors", the French AMH-13 VTT, VAB and the Ukrainian BTR, as well as armed reconnaissance cars and armed transporters for the transportation of people and medicines, could have been regarded as defensive weapons.

The tank of the "Leopard" type is a high-quality new weapon, which the Nordic Battalion intended to transfer to Tuzla. The UN bureaucratic structures made a mistake because they tried to avoid the text of the Resolution 836 about the protected zones in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. Military experts from the Serbian Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina refused to grant these tanks passage to Tuzla because the peacekeeping character of the UN in Bosnia has not been changed in the meantime. There is no new UN Security Council resolution, by which the UNPROFOR would be allowed to carry out offensive tasks. This makes the "Leopard" tanks completely superfluous, seen from the point of view of the UN decisions—unless they should serve for the preparation of a possible military operation in the former Bosnia-Herzegovina. It is too late for such a move, though....

The Engines Must Not Be Started

The "Leopards" in Pancevo are the first tanks of German production in Yugoslavia since World War II. From the psychological point of view, the "Leopards" prove that everything is relative, since such a thing would have been considered science fiction three years ago. The "Leopards" came to Pancevo by railway, the UNPROFOR paid the Yugoslav Railways for their transportation; the tanks are now in the Pancevo barracks under the supervision of the appropriate Yugoslav Army institutions.

The tank engines must not be started, the tanks have to be covered by a tarpaulin and must not be used for any kind of exercises. It is up to the UNPROFOR to decide for how long they will stay in Pancevo.

Serbia

Draskovic: Humanitarian Aid 'Stolen, Resold'

AU1312214393 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Speech by Vuk Draskovic, leader of the Serbian Renewal Movement and the Democratic Movement of Serbia, at a party rally in Obrenovac; date not given—recorded]

[Text] Sometime this evening, but certainly before 2100, when the promotion of Depos [Democratic Movement of Serbia] starts, three minutes should be devoted to this rally here. I beg you to cooperate. Whatever I say during these three minutes, do not applaud, do not boo, so that we can use these three minutes as rationally as possible.

I beg the cameraman and the journalist of the Serbian television—do not boo at them, they are not television, they are not television's management, because if this were the case, then you would have to boo at the ticket collectors and drivers because the buses are not running regularly, and to the shop assistants because there is no bread—I beg you to turn your cameras toward the people. [cheers] You have already filmed enough of me. Do not boo if he occasionally turns the cameras toward

me. He has to show me. Television must show these people properly. They have filmed me enough.

Do not be afraid, people. Do not be afraid, our police are hungry, our police are humiliated and disgraced. The soldiers are hungry, the officers are humiliated and disgraced. They all want a change, with the exception of perhaps a few dozen people, who for several years have been leading this country down toward the abyss. This change must take place on St. Nicholas Day.

Some are calling for justice. We have been listening to calls for justice for decades. Some are calling for pride, some for honesty, some for dignity. Serbia needs something more than slogans. Serbia needs a concrete program of salvation. Whoever offers this salvation program, a realistic and viable program—and it is up to you to say whether the program is realistic and viable—he should be given a chance on St. Nicholas Day.

They are stealing the humanitarian aid. They are stealing the medicine. According to their official data, 75 percent of the humanitarian aid and medicine is stolen, resold, and transferred to private accounts.

Opposition Leader Urges Change of Government

AU1312210093 Belgrade RTB Television Network in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 13 Dec 93

[Speech by Zoran Djindjic, leader of the Democratic Party, at the promotion rally of the Democratic Party in Nis; date not given—recorded]

[Text] In the last three years, we have changed 43 dinar banknotes. The one that we have today is the 44th. Would it not be simpler to change the authorities? Would this not be simpler? [loud applause]

In the last 50 years we have tried everything. We had the dictatorship of Josip Broz [Tito], the self-management of Eduard Kardelj, the presidency of Borisav Jovic, the government of Radoman Bozovic [crowds boos and whistle], and you see how far we have come. The only thing that we have not tried, one simple thing, and that is an honest government. Let us have honest authorities even if this means our end. [loud applause]

If we are so damned a nation that even honest authorities can help us, all right, we will go along with it, but let us try it. We do not need others to keep telling us that all the authorities are the same. We are told this by those in power, those who have been in power for 50 years. They tell us not to fight for power because power corrupts people. They tell us: Let us govern, we are corrupt. Let us not all get corrupt. You stay honest. We are already corrupt. [loud applause].

They tell us that there is no money. They said this at roundtable talks. I was asked by a professor of economics how we could promise to give all these things to the pensioners and farmers when we are irresponsible. He said: How can you promise this, you are a serious man, you know that there is no money in this country? I said: You know what, Professor, if there were no money, you would not be fighting to stay in power. This is the best evidence for me that there is still some money. [applause]

The state is not so poor. It still has Karadjordjevo [money printing house in Belgrade]. It has money for the pension fund for the next 100 years. The state has both gold and silver, as well as copper. It has all this. This is being taken out of the country through strange channels. Part of the state property must be given to settle liabilities toward pensioners and those with foreign currency savings.

The first decision of the new government must deal with this issue. It must restore citizens's trust in the state. [applause]

Macedonia

Foreign Ministry Official Views Ties With Greece

AU1312170793 Prague LIDOVE NOVINY in Czech 8 Dec 93 p 4

[Interview with Viktor Gaber, secretary to Foreign Minister Crvenkovski, by Jan Pergler and Jan Tobias; place and date not given: "We Cannot Conduct 'Eye-for-Eye' Policy Toward Greece"]

[Text] Macedonia is the only republic of former Yugoslavia that did not have to fire a single bullet to become independent. We spoke about Macedonia's topical problems with Viktor Gaber, secretary to the Macedonian foreign minister.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou allegedly said that Greece will close its borders with Macedonia. How is your government going to react?

[Gaber] In the efforts to boost sales, the Greek press is issuing untruthful reports. According to information available to us, Greece has to have, and will have good relations with Macedonia, which is in our interests, but we are not willing to accept any ultimatums.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] Greece wants the Macedonian Republic to change its name to Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia and stop using its flag with the sun having sixteen rays, since this sign is considered to be one of the symbols of ancient Greece. What is the Macedonian Government's stance?

[Gaber] No country has the right to change the democratically selected symbols and the name of another sovereign country. Owing to its demands, Greece is getting into an impasse. If Greece were able to adapt to the changes that are under way in Europe, the bilateral talks between Macedonia and Greece under the UN auspices would become unnecessary.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] According to our information, the Greek Government is discriminating against Macedonian citizens who want to visit Greece, particularly if they are of Greek origin. It refuses to issue visas for them, and even if they do obtain visas, they are returned back from the borders. What is the Macedonian Government's reaction?

[Gaber] Our reaction cannot be the "eye-for-eye" type of reaction. We believe that these incidents are only transitional phenomena on our route to normal relations. Nevertheless, we are providing information about such instances to high officials of international institutions, above all the UN. They are telling us that our course of action is correct.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] There will be parliamentary elections in Serbia next week. Within the framework of the election campaign, some politicians are demanding that Macedonia should reunite with Serbia. Do you think that if these forces win, Macedonia will have to face a real threat?

[Gaber] Macedonia's independence is inviolable. If they tried to reannex Macedonia to Serbia, there would be a new war in the Balkans. Not only in the Balkans, but possibly in all Europe. However, I have to call on the mass media not to take seriously the election slogans that will never materialize.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The Albanian ambassador to the Czech Republic complained in a LIDOVE NOVINY interview about the fact that Macedonia was not respecting the rights of the Albanian minority on its territory, despite the fact that Albania is one of the countries to have first recognized the Macedonian Republic....

[Gaber] There are about 21 percent of Albanians in Macedonia. We are firmly convinced that they have all their rights, like any other minority. Of course, we use the world standards for this comparison. Macedonia is the only country in the Balkans to allow minorities to establish their own political parties based on the national principle.

[LIDOVE NOVINY] The Czech Republic is not among the 34 countries that have recognized the Macedonian Republic. What is your explanation?

[Gaber] You should ask the responsible political officials in Prague. We have traditionally good relations with the Czech Republic. The fact that your government supported Macedonia's integration into the Central European Initiative testifies to this effect. My plan is to visit Prague on 21 December and agree upon Czech-Macedonian talks on the level of ministers. These talks should become the first step toward establishing diplomatic relations.

Montenegro

Perovic Claims Republic To Become Sovereign

AU1312114093 Rijeka NOVI LIST (TJEDNI NOVI LIST—Saturday Supplement) in Serbo-Croatian 4 Dec 93 p 9

[Interview with Slavko Perovic, president of the Liberal Union of Montenegro, by Stojan Obradovic; place and date not given: "It Would Be Better to Have Tanks in the Streets Than the Concentration Camp That We Have Now"]

[Text] [Obradovic] You have just returned from London, The Hague, and Brussels, where you were invited by the British Government and the bodies of the European Union to present the positions of your party regarding some of the key issues on the territory of the former Yugoslavia. You have also met with [UN Secretary General] Butrus-Ghali. What is your general impression, how well are the positions of the liberals known in the international public, especially regarding the project of the sovereign Montenegro, which the Liberal Union has been promoting?

[Perovic] I think that my visit met a significant response from the political forces of Europe, which had earlier recognized that the Liberal Union of Montenegro in this area supported a principled solution to the so-called Yugoslav crisis, and that we had always insisted that, after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, Montenegro had to be organized as an independent political agent in this area. We simply want to see Montenegro as a modern democratic country following the European model, as an open society, and as the state of all its citizens. We do intend to constitute a state of the Montenegrin people in Montenegro, but as a modern, democratic Montenegro that could contribute to calming the situation in these areas. It seems to us that the political forces have started to recognize that there was a possibility of making a democratic breakthrough in Montenegro.

The Authorities in Podgorica "Seen Through" By the West

[Obradovic] Do you think that there have been any significant changes in the general political atmosphere in Montenegro? Can the Democratic Party of Socialists, the party in power, continue to count on the majority of Montenegrin voters, considering that it does not have a political program, that is, that it is an interest group, as many say?

[Perovic] The situation is rapidly changing to the advantage of the Liberal Union and this pro-Montenegrin group that exists in Montenegro. The party in power has recently surveyed the political market and established that the Liberal Union has already increased to 26 percent with the body of the voters of Montenegro, while the Democratic Party of Socialist has dropped to below 22 percent. The people who have the power in Podgorica are no democrats, which they have very well shown by

their actions during the tragic development of the Yugoslav crisis, as well as by the way they have treated the opposition in Montenegro. They are simply trying to stay in power at any cost, because power is the only guarantee of their personal safety.

In relation to Milosevic, at certain points they tried to present different positions in order to deceive the West and thus secure humanitarian aid, and it is through humanitarian aid that they have managed to stay in power. As a matter of fact, the party in power, embodied by its foreign minister, Mr. Lekic, has the face of an anti-democratic and repressive regime in Montenegro. I think that they have used up their last card, that they have been "seen through" by the West, while they tried to waste this good time that we had at our disposal.

Radovic—Advocate of Greater Serbian Politics

[Obradovic] The attacks on the Liberal Union from the regime-controlled media in Serbia and Montenegro, as well as from the Serbian-oriented parties, have lately intensified after the autocephalous Montenegrin Orthodox Church was restored. The idea and the actualization of the project have been ascribed to the Liberal Union, while there have been attempts to interpret the Montenegrin Church as the property of a political party. What is your comment on that?

[Perovic] The Serbian Orthodox Church has been present in Montenegro since 1920, working on the assimilation of the Montenegrins, that is, on transferring their national being to the Serbian ethnic corps. With the disintegration of the Yugoslav community, with the arrival of Risto Radovic to the throne of the holy Montenegrin metropolitan bishops, there was an attempt to vulgarize this process to the extent that, for instance, now you cannot baptize a child in any Montenegrin church on the territory of Montenegro if you declare him as a Montenegrin, and Risto Radovic tells the Montenegrins from the holy throne of the metropolitan St. Peter of Cetina that the Montenegrins are a Comintern-Vatican-Bolshevist race, therefore, an invention.

Risto Radovic, like many "wise" Serbian minds, have convinced the Serbs that they won the Battle of Kosovo, and that we are Serbs. They have been convincing themselves of many other things that have no factual background. They believed that they could do some political business in Montenegro, since Mr. Radovic is exclusively an instrument of the militant greater Serbian politics in Montenegro. The Montenegrins have again gotten their vladika [Orthodox bishop], they elected him according to tradition, and, on that day, there were between 15,000 and 20,000 people at Cetinje, with all the troubles with transportation, since there is no gas here. The vladika has the unwavering support of a great number of the Orthodox people of Montenegro, while Mr. Risto Radovic remains almost alone. The way that the Church has been constituted is enough to show that Mr. Risto Radovic has been misinforming his center in Belgrade about this being only a matter of a small group of separatists.

The Movement Cannot Be Stopped

Suddenly there were some 15-20,000 people on that square, and it was clear that it was not a matter of a small group, but of a very wide movement that can not go back. This statement, that there is no going back for this movement, gets them into a panic, and this is why they have started attacking Vladika Antonije more fiercely, in the basest, most primitive way, which only becomes Mr. Risto Radovic; this is he way he does things.

Indeed, the support that the Serb Orthodox Church in Montenegro then received from Svetozar Marovic, head secretary, and from President Bulatovic, shows very clearly that these people of Greater Serbian origin in Montenegro are working for the project of accomplishing Greater Serbia in Montenegro. Their political activities boil down to creating as much confusion among the citizens of Montenegro as possible, to make room for Milosevic's project.

[Obradovic] It would therefore be incorrect to say that the restoration of the autocephalous Montenegrin Orthodox Church is exclusively the work of the Liberal Union as a civil party?

[Perovic] No, the Liberal Union has nothing to do with the project except that it supports in terms of respecting the human rights. This is what it is all about. Otherwise, we are a civil party and we see Montenegro as the area of free activities of all religions that exist here, and we make no differences among them. We do not wish to politicize them, but to put them back to the place where they belong in every democratic state. That means that the religious feeling is the deepest personal feeling of each individual, and that, if you will, it is dishonorable to ask what someone's religion is, that this question belongs in the area that exceeds the limits of everyday communication.

[Obradovic] How realistic is the ambition of Slobodan Milosevic and the nationalist circles in Belgrade to push Montenegro into a union of Serbian states, that is, greater Serbia?

[Perovic] I will answer this question with one sentence: The more primitive and the stronger the pressure from Belgrade, the freer Montenegro is going to be.

We Will Achieve an Independent State Through a Referendum

[Obradovic] Considering the strong pressure from the media, the church, and even the police and the military, what are the forces and possibilities of the civil, democratic Montenegrin option that are behind the project of a sovereign and independent Montenegro? Are you

afraid of a war that could, as has been the case in some other parts of the former Yugoslavia, be instigated from the outside?

[Perovic] The Liberal Union publicly declares that it will not go to war for Montenegro, that this time we will take Montenegro the democratic way, at a referendum, which I am absolutely certain about. We have told Belgrade that if the Liberal Union of Montenegro comes to power we will not immediately declare sovereignty, but free the state media and bring the members of both options to the free state media to speak and explain their political positions. We also said that, after a year of such a campaign, the Liberal Union, that is, Montenegro, will probably have the right to hold a referendum. If Bozidar Vucurevic [Herzegovinan military leader who is from Montenegro] has "some right" to fight for "his country," then this 950-year-old formation must have the right to have a referendum and ask the citizens if they would like to have a sovereign Montenegro or remain in the FRY. Moreover, we said that if 51 percent of the electoral body supports that project, we will consider the project of a sovereign Montenegro a failure. We ask that two thirds of the electoral body support the project of a sovereign Montenegro at this referendum. We believe that it will have a special political importance, which will find a powerful response both in the West and in Belgrade. We believe that Slobodan Milosevic can only grow weaker.

Therefore, this is the way that the Liberal Union of Montenegro intends to achieve the political independence of Montenegro, and we have explained to the political forces in the West that there is no realistic basis for a civil war in Montenegro. Slobodan Milosevic can beat us, slaughter us, do whatever he will; we will not fight back. Let him come with tanks, we will go into our houses; let him arrest us, let him establish concentration camps, it is all right. We know that political sovereignty is primarily a democratic process, and we believe that Milosevic's tanks in Montenegro would be the first step toward its international recognition, and it would be much better to have the status of an occupied country, which we would acquire with the arrival of his tanks, than the status of a concentration camp that we have now.

[Box, p 9]

Relations With Liberals

[Obradovic] You are one of the few parties on the territory of Montenegro and Serbia that cultivates good relations with the parties of the liberal-civil and democratic orientation on the territory of the former Yugoslavia, and abroad. Could you tell us more about these activities?

[Perovic] That is correct. Before this unfortunate war, we established, and have since cultivated relations with the liberal democrats of Slovenia, with the Croatian liberals, with Adil Zulfikarpasic's Muslim-Bosniak organization, with Rasim Kadic's liberals, with Andonov's liberals from Macedonia; in Serbia we have relations with Mr. Veselinov and Mr. Nenad Canak's parties, with Miss Vesna Pesic's Civil Union, and we also have relations with the Serbian Renewal Movement [SPO], though we take them to be a nationalist party. Namely, we know that the SPO project is also aimed against Montenegro, as is Milosevic's Greater Serbian one. However, there is a difference here. We believe that Mr. Draskovic [president of the SPO] would not shoot at Montenegro, and this is why we keep the relations with him. Fortunately for us, we have managed to keep all these contacts in this area, and, through them, we keep the contacts with the entire Europe. This is in our interest, and we will continue to work on it.

[Box, p 9]

The Project of the Independent Montenegro

They wanted to beat us with the dilemma if Montenegro should be constituted as sovereign, though we never had any such dilemma, or if we should deal with the quantity of Montenegrinness in Mr. Miodrag Lekic, Momir Bulatovic, Svetozar Marovic, and similar people. We have never been involved in such things, and we never will be. Instead, we will work on the project that is called the independent Montenegro. The recent events have shown the primitive contents of this repressive regime, and it is now being offered the last straw of possibility to offer support to Slobodan Milosevic, so that he may win in Serbia, and then, on the wings of his great victory in Serbia, they would probably win at the elections in Montenegro again. However, as opposed to Serbia, where there is no democratic opposition, in Montenegro it is very strong. At present, it gathers some 36 percent of the electoral body, and they will therefore not be able to act in Montenegro the way Milosevic has been acting in Serbia.